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# Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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16 April 1985

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INTER-AMERICAN AFFAIRS

MOVEMENT TO SUPPORT SOUTHERN AFRICA FORMED IN BURUNDI

EA240156 Dakar PANA in French 1115 GMT 22 Mar 85

[Text] Bujumbura, 22 Mar (ABP-BUR/PANA)--A Movement of Support for Southern Africa (MSA) was officially formed in Bujumbura on Thursday on the occasion of the international day for the elimination of racial discrimination. The MSA is committed to the launching of a long-term process of awareness with a view to demonstrating active solidarity with the liberation struggle in South Africa and in Namibia in order to completely isolate the apartheid regime and to consolidate true independence and peace in the southern part of the African continent.

There is no compromising (?with) the apartheid (?regime), it is intolerable. It must be dismantled by any means and [word indistinct] with the arms at hand, stressed the president of the Provisional Bureau of the National Anti-Apartheid Committee, Mr Julien Nahayo, after presenting the philosophy of apartheid which feeds itself with myths, historical falsifications, and specious biblical interpretations.

According to its statutes, the MSA will campaign for effective solidarity with those states directly concerned and other independent African states which are victim of troubles created by the Pretoria regime in order to enable them to defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity. Its activity will cover all fields related to resistance in southern Africa. In this respect, various activities will be organized on that theme notably drama, conferences, and public debates, exhibition, film shows, and fund raisings and contributions for the liberation movements and the bereaved people of southern Africa.

The MSA has elected a national anti-apartheid committee comprised of 21 members, which set up a bureau composed of a president, two vice presidents, a secretary general, an assistant secretary general and a treasurer. It has also drawn a program for the first 3 months.

CSO: 3419/347

ANGOLA

SAVIMBI ON UNITA BACKING, ALLIANCES, PROSPECTS

West Berlin TAGESZEITUNG in German 11 Feb 85 p 11

[Interview with Jonas Savimbi, leader of Angolan liberation movement UNITA, conducted by TAGESZEITUNG correspondent J. Lechner, date and place not indicated]

[Text] Jonas Savimbi, the leader of UNITA, the Angolan liberation movement, lives in the southern part of Angola, close to the border of Namibia in Jamba, the "moveable capital." To anyone interested, he talks about his goals. TAZ is publishing excerpts of an interview with the publicity seeking guerilla leader which, overall, lasted several hours.

[Question] Is the possibility that UNITA would form a government in the areas that it occupies out of the question?

[Answer] Absolutely! Although a few countries have tried to put pressure on us in this regard. They said that the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] otherwise would not speak with us...

[Question] But do you really believe that after such a war, as opponents and with your extremely divergent positions, that a national reconciliation is possible?

[Answer] Yes, I believe that. Perhaps two or three leading members of the MPLA would not accept it, but most of those we know on the other side, I expect will accept it.

[Question] With this reconciliation, would UNITA exclude anyone within the MPLA?

[Answer] No. But within the central committee of the MPLA there are a few who would argue strongly for an incompatibility and feel responsible for that. They would probably not participate.

[Question] You have again and again mentioned contacts between the MPLA and UNITA. How do these contact take place?

[Answer] In Lisbon and in Frankfurt...Portuguese individuals are always informed, yes, they could only come about through Portuguese middlemen.

UNITA and South Africa

[Question] Is it right that South Africa supports UNITA in order to achieve something in Angola or in Namibia?

[Answer] We could also receive support from other countries as well! South Africa's assistance always came later than the other countries! It was certainly later than the support from Arabic countries. They had founded the "Safar Club". It had quite a bit of money. Every member paid up to \$50 million in the general fund.

[Question] Just to finance UNITA?

[Answer] No, they also have other projects but UNITA has top priority. After that we negotiated first with South Africa so that it would receive the material and forward it to us...

[Question] Where does UNITA stand regarding apartheid?

[Answer] We are against apartheid and South Africa knows it. It's no secret to anyone.

[Question] Many African countries criticize UNITA because of its lack of solidarity in the anti-apartheid movement.

[Answer] Groundlessly. An anti-apartheid demonstration in London makes no sense because the British investments comprise millions of dollars in spite of this. For that reason Pretoria doesn't concern itself with demonstrations like that. However, we are dealing directly with the South Africans and say, "The reform policies that you are undertaking there to let in Colored and Indians, is this the end or the beginning of a reform policy?" For we are concerned that the black remain excluded.

[Question] And what do the South Africans reply?

[Answer] They clearly say that it is the beginning and that the situation in South Africa is very difficult. They say they did not discover apartheid but inherited it. In order to abolish it, they need time, etcetera. We understand that. Even Botha's party is under pressure from radical conservatives that will not accept the slightest change. Botha told us that he has very serious problems and that he would gladly create a situation that would enable his successors to go beyond his policies. We are in a much better situation with regard to the criticism on apartheid than the others. We are speaking with the South Africans.

[Question] On the whole, then, how does it look in regard to UNITA's ties with Pretoria?

[Answer] First of all, South Africa offers us a market in which we can sell what we produce. Secondly, through middlemen, we can receive those things that our friends send us...and we receive gasoline that we don't have to pay for. That is, by the way, the only thing that we receive for nothing. And when we have badly wounded who cannot be treated in our hospital, they are transported to South Africa.

[Question] But how do you explain this goodwill towards UNITA on the part of South Africa?

[Answer] The South Africans understand that we try to fit in. The situation has changed in this region, and the realities, too. We want to see the realities as they exist, even when it costs us to do so.

[Question] Certainly the South African support has a political price. Is there an agreement between UNITA and Pretoria that no ANC and SWAPO bases would be allowed to be established on Angolan soil if you come into power?

[Answer] No, the ANC issue was not once discussed with us because Pretoria knows that we do not work with that organization. We know Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, etc very well, but on the other hand, there was never any sympathy for the ANC. I do believe that all people have the right to choose their own method for liberation. That also holds true for the ANC. But I also do not believe that the armed conflict in South Africa is going anywhere. It's leading into a dead end.

[Question] Does this mean that UNITA opposes the existence of an anti-apartheid movement in South Africa?

[Answer] No, they can certainly continue. It's just that they will not achieve anything. I believe that Pretoria is already making certain headway that, if it were understood by the African strategists, would make it possible to achieve a solution for the blacks in South Africa.

[Question] Is UNITA using the South African presence in the southern Angolan area of Cunene to act as, you might say, an infiltration corridor?

[Answer] No, that's what the MPLA claim. In Cunene our base is very strong.

[Question] UNITA is receiving the greatest portion of its food supplies, weapons, and munitions over the border from Namibia. What would happen if the UN Resolution 435 were to go into effect? The one demanding that this territory remain independent?

[Answer] We would have other options. That depends entirely on the wishes of South Africa and the other countries that support us. UNITA already has certain infrastructures and has access to liberated areas. And also with the UN's 2,000 stationed soldiers, these countries could bring the material here, perhaps not 250 tons at one time. Then everything would take a little longer. Don't you believe that a Hercules C-130 could land here?

[Question] But do you think it is possible that South Africa, because of a treaty with Luanda, could cut off supplies?

[Answer] I've already mentioned that I have no guarantees and South Africa has the most diversified interests in this region! I'm not new to politics anymore, if someone were to come here and swear that he would never again desert me...I have already been betrayed so often!

[Question] How high is UNITA's annual income?

[Answer] Approximately \$85 million. That depends entirely on the funds available at the time. It could also be \$50 or \$70 million. The amount is discussed with the countries who have it. Our budget is flexible. We could ask for \$50 million and we would get it. But it could also work out that they could give us only \$30 million. However we can't make do with any less than \$30 million.

[Question] Who are the financiers?

[Answer] No one knows for sure, but at the moment there are always more and more.

[Question] So, African and Arabic countries! With regard to what is going on in France, isn't it about the same as during Giscard's term?

[Answer] But the people there now are also not opposed to us! Although they don't help us directly. The withdrawal of the Communists from the government would naturally be to our benefit. The French have understood quite well what is going on here in Angola.

[Question] And Israel?

[Answer] Never. There are two countries with which UNITA never had any relations and never will. The first is Israel because of our Arabic friends, and the other is Taiwan because of our relationship with the People's Republic of China. And Taiwan actually approached us with many offers when Beijing recognized the MPLA government, but we always turned them down.

[Question] Among the Arabs, is it probably the Saudis who have been especially helpful to UNITA?

[Answer] We have already been working with the Arabs for some time, with Egypt as early as Nasser's time...

[Question] And in Africa? Is Morocco again training UNITA soldiers?

[Answer] In Africa there are many countries who help us but it is always Morocco's name that is brought up! But then again we do not want to name other countries for strategic reasons. In any case, military training does not only take place in Morocco.

[Question] And how does UNITA get its weapons?

[Answer] There are weapons all over the place. For more sophisticated material there is the Middle East. The crucial traders are the Lebanese, who have been scattered all over Europe following the war in Lebanon.

[Question] But I've also seen material from Portugal. Is UNITA also procuring weapons over there also?

[Answer] But, that is so simple! The Portuguese have sold so much after the end of the war in Africa! I don't discount the possibility that the people of the "Revolutionary Council" at that time had sold the material abroad themselves.

[Question] But you buy directly from Portugal?

[Answer] No, not that!

UNITA's Angola

[Question] Is it not a paradox, when UNITA calls itself a "liberation movement" and maintains relations with dictatorial regimes such as that of the former Shah, for example?

[Answer] I know that we are not the only ones! Morocco, for example, has also helped the MPLA very much. It was just in 1977/78 that that changed. And the MPLA had also had the best relationship with the Argentinian military!  
...

[Question] UNITA was inspired by Communist guerillas like the Chinese and the Vietnamese, but is fighting a regime that is governed by Communists. Isn't there a very strong contradiction here?

[Answer] There are great contradictions between us. Even before 1974 this had been the case. The MPLA was and is supported by Moscow; we were supported by the Chinese. Our point of departure is that, now as in the future, the farmer should play the most important role. First, we must solve the food problem that is truly a strategic issue. In Africa today, it is an issue of feeding its people, not an issue of industrialization. Too many are dying daily of hunger. And the future solution to this issue is dependent on our understanding of the mentality of the farmers today. In spite of his backwards mentality, the farmer is a self-sufficient provider, different from the worker. That is quite a different philosophy of Angolan society than that of the MPLA, and this difference is fundamental!

[Question] What kind of political ideology does UNITA actually represent?

[Answer] What I am now speaking to you about. The political concepts of Europe mean nothing to us.

[Question] Does UNITA consider itself a party or a front?

[Answer] Certainly it is a front, a movement and not a party.

[Question] Does it then not run the risk of falling apart when it comes into power?

[Answer] This risk always exists. But we must go beyond our Angolan situation. It is a lesson to us--today the lesson of national liberation and tomorrow that of governing. The essential factor at the moment is the struggle against the Cubans and the attempt to form a common front with the MPLA, to mobilize the farmers, to raise an army... That is a type of bare bones program. Even now we would not be able to discuss thoroughly all of Angolan society...

[Question] There are just two words on UNITA's emblem. "Negritude" is one of them. Is that not apartheid with reversed premises?

[Answer] I don't believe that Aime Cesaire and Leopold Senghor who introduced that word, "negritude," in the political and philosophic dictionary could be considered racists. Aime Cesaire was of mixed blood and Senghor was married to a white... The way we use it in Angola, it means our common cultural heritage. Otherwise we would have nothing against assimilation...

[Question] The second word is "socialism." Does UNITA then consider itself a socialist movement?

[Answer] Yes, we are a socialist movement. But socialism must be interpreted relative to the form and capacity of human production in each individual country. Even when the key principles are the same, Portuguese socialism is certainly different from the French! We are for socialism because it is necessary to nationalize production. Only in this way can values be instilled in people.

[Question] Does that mean a state controlled economy?

[Answer] We would like a mixed economy, not a fully collective one. We do not have enough cadre; for that one needs a very long political indoctrination. A bus driver with no political education, for example, would not care if his bus broke down because it belongs to the state...

[Question] And what would be the priorities in the first years?

[Answer] In the first place, stands agriculture, then the creation of a market which implies peace in the streets. You see, if we do not succeed in creating a market, then the agriculture would also bring us nothing.

[Question] A few retornados (Portuguese refugees from Africa) look to UNITA with great hope. Could you give them any guarantees?

[Answer] We are encouraging them through contacts that we have in Portugal... It is in the interests of all Angolans that the Portuguese return. But in an open dialogue and with a different mentality that understands that Angola is now an independent country. When peace reigns once again in Angola, then the Portuguese who consider Angola their homeland (and many of them were and are respectable people) will come back...

[Question] You are weighing the thought of the return of the Portuguese in order to reduce the shortage of experts. And what of their property? Will that also be the same as previously?

[Answer] Even the great financial capital can come back! But then even the Americans would come and then there would be competition.

[Question] But what's the outlook on the political freedom of expression?

[Answer] We cannot dream. The Angola that we would like to see would be one in which UNITA by itself would control the power, in that our party program would be the national program. But that's not possible. We must accept the situation in Angola as it is, that is, there would be a plural party system--two, three or four parties. But there must be parties organized in line with the majority of the members.

[Question] If UNITA were to come to power by virtue of its own strength, would there then be free elections?

[Answer] Of course! We would not be satisfied governing like the MPLA.

[Question] But would UNITA, which has fought for so many years to gain power, give up that power through a plebiscite?

[Answer] But we do not want to win the armed conflict just to turn around and have to continue it! For that reason there must be a coalition, independent of the results of the election. I doubt that the MPLA will receive a majority. It does not have the ability to mobilize the people, quite in contrast to us--UNITA...

12348  
CSO: 3420/39

ANGOLA

CUBAN TROOPS ACCUSED OF POGROM AGAINST CHRISTIANS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 27 Mar 85 p 11

[Article by Keith Abendroth]

[Text]

A MASS of substantiated material being gathered in Pretoria tells of a horrifying pogrom of Christian churchgoers in Angola by Cuban troops — troops South Africa wants removed.

Files of material telling of the gruesome killings of large numbers of Christians and their religious leaders have been gathered by the Reverend Edward Cain, for many years a Baptist missionary in Mozambique and a recognised expert on the impact of communism on Mozambique and Angola.

Mr Cain told The Citizen that the one clear message that kept coming out of Angola, where Christians were practising their faith in much the same underground ways as the old Christians of Rome, was to pray for the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola.

He cited a number of cases of mass killings of Black Christians by MPLA-backed Cuban troops and attacked both the World

Council of Churches and the politically active Council of Churches of Namibia for their lack of interest in the plight of Christians in Angola.

He said that a delegation of Christians from the bush in Angola had visited the World Council of Churches in Switzerland as far back as 1982. They explained the suffering of the Christians in Angola to senior officials of the WCC.

"They asked them to help the churches as they had done in the past.

"The officials listened politely but have never responded to the request," Mr Cain said.

The WCC had plenty of money for Marxist "liberation movements" bent on violence but none for poor Christians who proclaimed a Biblical message, he added.

"Especially not for those persecuted by the Marxists," said Mr Cain.

Similarly, the Council of Churches of Namibia could not plead ignorance of the systematic persecution of the church in Angola.

Christians who had fled to areas dominated by the Unita forces of Dr Jonas Savimbi had found that complete freedom of religion was permitted, he added.

Atrocities listed by Mr Cain included the burning alive of Christians; the axing down of a pastor and 37 cattle with his body left on top of the cattle; mortaring of hospitals and schools; use of churches for storage of Russian-made arms, ammunition and equipment; and the wholesale killing of teachers and nurses.

Of the Council of Evangelical Churches of Central Angola alone, at least 10 of the 50 pastors in the field had been brutally murdered.

CSO: 3400/877

BENIN

VISIT OF SOVIET NEWS DELEGATION REPORTED

Cotonou EHUZU in French 13 Feb 85 pp 1, 8

[Article: "End of Visit to Benin of the Soviet Journalists Union Delegation"]

[Text] In the framework of the relationship of active cooperation which it has long maintained with the Journalists Association in Benin, the Soviet Journalists Union visited our country from 5 to 12 February 1985.

This visit followed that made by the Beninese Journalists Association to the USSR in 1982.

In the final communique published yesterday at the end of this visit, the two associations gave a report on the major subjects dealt with in the working sessions they held.

Thus subjects such as the life of the AJB [Benin Journalists Association], the training of Beninese journalists, study trips, and exchanges of journalists between the USSR and the Benin Popular Republic were discussed.

A draft cooperation agreement between the two parties was submitted for the examination of the Beninese representatives of the AJB.

The date and place of the signing of this agreement will be jointly decided later by the two associations.

The communique also particularly emphasized the convergence between the views of the AJB and the UJS [Union of Soviet Journalists] on such questions as the peace and security of peoples, the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, racism, apartheid and Zionism.

The two delegations approved the peace policy of the Soviet state, the aspirations for socialism, peace and progress of the people of the Benin Popular Republic, and affirmed their desire to strengthen the ties of friendship and understanding between the Beninese and the Soviet people. They also expressed their satisfaction with the spirit of cordiality, solidarity and friendship with which their various discussions were imbued. The Soviet delegation made a point of thanking the AJB for its friendly welcome and asked it to convey to the PRPB [People's Revolution Party of Benin] and to the Beninese state their gratitude for the solicitude shown them during their stay.

9824

CSO: 3419/318

BOTSWANA

BRIEFS

ITALIAN AID TO REFUGEES--The Italian Government has given six vehicles to the Botswana Government to increase the means of transport for political refugees at the Dukwe refugee camp. The keys of the vehicles, four trucks and two ambulances, were presented to the undersecretary in the office of the president, Mr Forster Kokoret, by the commercial attache in the Italian embassy based in Lusaka, Dr Colela, at a ceremony in Gaborone yesterday. Making the presentation, Dr Colela said that the Italian authorities had decided to grant extraordinary emergency aid consisting of the vehicles, as well as substantial number of spare parts, to assist the Botswana Government in the humanitarian effort of caring for refugees. Dr Colela expressed the hope that the vehicles would go a long way in assisting the government to solve the problems of refugees at Dukwe. He added that Italy had in the past responded to emergency appeals from Botswana. He noted that Italy had granted a supply of pharmaceutical and veterinary equipment toward the drought relief program in Botswana. Dr Colela further said that Italy would grant \$1.5 million over a period of 5 years to the Botswana Government toward the establishment of a Southern African Center for Cooperation in Agricultural Research at Sabele. [Text] [Gaborone Domestic Service in English 1110 GMT 26 Mar 85]

CSO: 3400/869-F

BURKINA

CURRENT DOMESTIC, POLITICAL, LABOR PROBLEMS ANALYZED

Ouagadougou SIDWAYA in French 7 Mar 85 p 5

[Article by Ali Zerbo: "A Revelation, a Situation, and a Solution"]

[Text] The solution first of all. The valiant Burkinabe people have already proven to the world what they are capable of. To cite only one example, many of our relatives and ancestors have fallen on the field of honor at the side of other peoples. The French people know very well that we were willing to shed our precious blood for their freedom and independence on many fronts particularly under the German occupation etc. We were called the Senegalese infantry and we really were those who, at the head of the allied troops, braved the formidable heavy fire of the Nazis. And history says that Adolf Hitler was afraid, very much afraid of the blacks who would not retreat before anything, not even before death.

Among the blacks of whom history speaks, there were Burkinabe, i.e., nationals of what the colonists baptised, debaptised and rebaptised former Upper Volta or man's land, to make use of General De Gaulle's expression. This describes the recognized courage of the Burkinabe people as a fighting people. In the past, Burkinabe soldiers contributed greatly to resolving the complex problems which confronted other countries, helping them to secure their independence, ensure their freedom etc.

Today, our young and dynamic army, which finds nothing to envy in the other armies of Africa and of the world, is engaged in the most glorious combat, for it is serving the interests of the Burkinabe people, and doing so despite the undermining efforts of local and international reactionary forces. Yes, the army has definitively chosen to side with the people, and that is why it continues to consolidate its already existing unity, while at the same time remaining an integral part of the people. As a matter of fact, the defense of territorial integrity and production which, among other things, constitute its favorite tasks, besides keeping the peace and public order, are conclusive indications, it seems to me, of the break with the old view

of the army as a class, merely serving the interests of a certain class, that of the bourgeois. This means that we are at a transition stage, a stage of change, I should say, a stage which is characterized especially by the transition from a classic type of army to a popular army in which defense becomes popular, that is to say, everyone's business. Having said this, during the whole transition phase, and even more so afterwards, one of the wagers which our army must win is that at least of the battle for "stability." It must labor in such a way as to replace our country's image of "instability" with one of "stability." Fortunately, with us Burkinabe the army has only one goal: to serve the people. Without any personal political ambitions, it continues to cast out from its ranks soldiers and officers with other ideas and all those who champion reactionary interests. This is why it has refused and rejected people like Jean-Baptiste Ouedraogo and a Some Yorian Gabriel; this is why no one heeded their false alarm, and why the ignorant Saye Zerbo and his CMRPN [Military Committee of Recovery for National Progress] lost, and why, finally, the just line of the CSP [People's Salvation Council] and of the people triumphed. Today, like tomorrow or yesterday, the Burkinabe military, in the Burkinabe sense of the word, only use their rifles to serve the people. This, in my opinion, marks a difference from what prevailed before.

So much for the preliminaries. Now the revelation. The LIPAD/PAI [Patriotic League for Development/African Independence Party] was not behind the popular support marches organized on 20, 21 and 22 May 1983, i.e., the support marches made particularly for the prime minister, Captain Thomas Sankara, and Major Lingani and their comrades in the struggle. Contrary to the rumor spread and the shameless lie developed by our trade union anarchists, history will attest that it was the Burkinabe people which gave its spontaneous support to the cause of the progressive wing of the CSP because that wing was theoretically and practically defending the same interests as the people.

The proof? No one will insult our valiant people by confusing it, by limiting it to that obscure LIPAD/PAI with its limited circle and restricted social position. In fact, the students, scholars, workers and unemployed who demonstrated in the streets of the capital or throughout the nation, these different social strata, I say, never marched, walked under the banner of any party, the LIPAD/PAI or any other. In the minds of the demonstrators, it seems to me, it was a matter of a common struggle of that progressive wing and the rest of the people against the rightist wing and the feverish reaction stirred up by Jean-Baptiste Ouedraogo's clique and Yorian. This clarification is undoubtedly an important one to make inasmuch as our LIPAD trade union anarchists advance from confusion to confusion to obscure the account and ascribe to themselves what they do not deserve.

The truth is that there were perhaps some LIPAD members among

the demonstrators. But there were also people belonging to other leftist political factions, and there were even people who did not belong to any political party. In short, the high priests of the LIPAD/PAI are gatecrashers trying to make public opinion believe that they are behind everything. No doubt it is this political and historical falsification, this highway robbery, which naturally leads them to triumphalism, to declare for example that the CNR [National Council of the Revolution] is the offspring of the CSB (CSB) [expansion unknown], that they are the conscience of all these top-notch people etc. In short, the LIPAD/PAI is nothing but a liar and opportunist. I defy it to prove that it was behind the marches.

This truth reestablished, I will say a few words on the situation, which our enemies label "troubled and complex." From our point of view, the political and social situation is more than clear; at least it is becoming more and more clear. The masks are falling and it gets easier to know who is who, who is doing what and why. Questions remained without precise answers only yesterday, i.e., just a year ago at a time when the enthusiasm and euphoria of the first moments of victory prevailed. Today, the whole world knows that a hyena-goat type alliance was established between the trade union anarchists and the August revolution. On that score, we should listen to popular wisdom which declares that "even when the hyena shows compassion for the sick goat, it is only the better to devour it, the more so when demagogically it claims to associate with the goat in order to consider some of the shepherd's doings." The LIPAD/PAI was the hyena that wanted to devour us. The comrades' vigilance saved us and saved our ideal as well.

In order to overcome the enemy once and for all, we should equip ourselves with the experience in struggle of other peoples and continue to meditate on this profound thought. Speaking of the limits of coalitions, Gilles Paurrault uttered these striking words: "History abounds with coalitions which came apart before bearing fruit. To be allies means to look in the same direction while keeping an eye on one's neighbor at the same time. It is to advance at the same pace while looking out for those who would trip you up; it is publishing joint declarations in which the ulterior motives and the doubts which haunt each partner do not appear. Consequently, the best alliance is never very far from legal separation and division of property if not from divorce."

In a word, the defeat of the enemy will save us and will save our ideal. Any compromise is dangerous. Any collaboration is dangerous. We must not delude ourselves with the thought that reaction and counterrevolution will disarm themselves on their own. We will therefore choose to disarm them. Undoubtedly, it is for this important reason that we speak of clarification, of explication, terms which imply a radicalization of the struggle,

an intensification of the struggle. Concretely, it is out of the question to make significant concessions to the enemy on the local or international level. For example, we will never allow the political bandits of the LIPAD/PAI and of the MONAPOL [National Populist Liquidator Movement] P"CR"V/UGEV [Upper Voltan Revolutionary Communist Party/General Union of Voltan Students] to engage the Burkinabe people in political adventures since that would result in misadventures. That is why we are fighting and will fight without mercy against these trade union anarchists who are redoubling their efforts in the art of counterfeiting, lying, and intoxication. These incorrigible putschists have been trying in vain for some time to create confusion on the social level in order to bring about what we all know.

Moreover, as we said a while back, and not long ago, we said to the populists and other PCRV'ists that time would tell and that right dealings would separate us and would reveal the true servant of the people. Today, i.e., in less than a decade, what do we see? We see that some love what they once hated and formerly fought against, whereas others are fighting against what they once loved. In other words, the LIPAD is fighting against the revolution after seeking in vain to be its father or mother or guardian. As for the populist MONAPOL UGEV and the P"CR"V, they now form the putschist avant-garde in our country after relentlessly fighting the phenomena of the putsch and coup d'etat as responses to social evils. In short, all these little groups with their erroneous conceptions are finally showing their real face, their real nature to the Burkinabe people. We call them the new Right because in practice, they are no different from the Gerard Kangos or a Joseph Ouedraogo who fought among themselves for power under the former regimes, at the time of the late RDA [expansion unknown]. Like the men of the reactionary regimes of former days, the new representatives of international imperialism present the problems more or less in terms of political offices, in terms of the acquisition of power to satisfy their personal ambition etc. In this, they are detestable.

In any case, the chances for the success of a putsch are nil in Burkina today because we say that the process is irreversible. Nevertheless, we will redouble our vigilance and determination as if something were to happen at any time. It is in this sense that one should understand the attitude of our valiant people towards the old or the new Right, the objective allies of our enemy: international imperialism.

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GHANA

ECONOMIC TIES WITH LIBYA, CUBA DISCUSSED

London TALKING DRUMS in English Vol 2, No 25, 25 Mar 85 p 5

[Letter to editor by Y. Salifu]

[Text]

Thank you for the publication on Ghana-Libya Cooperation which appeared in the Talking Drums, March 4, 1985. As a Ghanaian, I feel greatly disturbed about the way in which the PNDC Government is experimenting with the economic development of Ghana.

A case in point is the co-operation agreement between Ghana and Libya for the establishment of a holding company to undertake forestry and wood processing, haulage transportation and exploitation of gold deposits in Ghana. One would have thought that Libya which is one of the leading producers of oil could have assisted Ghana better in the development and exploitation of Ghana's oil and petroleum resources if Libya proffered genuine friendship with Ghana.

It is known that Libya has no forest lands and gold deposits to be able to acquire the requisite expertise in the management of these resources. Haulage trucks and tankers are also not manufactured in Libya, and therefore it cannot be expected to help Ghana in the development of these economic sectors in the true sense of the word.

What the co-operation agreement may entail is that Libya will procure the haulage trucks, tankers, plant and machinery from the Western countries and sell them to Ghana at inflated prices under suppliers' credit arrangement with compound interest.

It will be interesting to see Libya's quotations for all the items which will be supplied to Ghana for the joint venture scheme and compare them with the manufacturers' own selling prices. The differences in the prices will show the extent to which Libya is committed to the economic progress of Ghana.

Sometime ago, the PNDC Government was alleged to be negotiating for the supply of 3,000 Cuban troops to be stationed in the Northern part of Ghana. We are aware that Cuba, a staunch friend of the PNDC Government is a major producer of sugar. Since Ghana has horrendous production problems with its sugar industry located at Komenda and Asutuare in the Southern part of the country, it would have been understandable if the troops were to stay at these places to assist in the cultivation of sugar cane to feed the

Sugar factories in the spirit of true 'revolutionary' friendship.

Instead, Northern Ghana around Bawku where geological survey has revealed vast deposits of high grade diamonds was reported to have been earmarked for the Cuban troops to be stationed and their communications centre located at Tamale, so that clandestine exploitations of the diamonds might have been undertaken in a revolutionary style unabated in the area, which would have been designated as 'MILITARY ZONE — RESTRICTED'. Why not? Ghana has not struck oil of any commercial significance as Angola to be able to pay the emolument of foreign troops in foreign currency.

While Ghanaians are deeply agitated about the wanton destruction and pillage of their country, it has not yet occurred to the tricksters, opportunists and charlatans who are masquerading and yapping as revolutionists that falsehood may be in a very thick crust, but in course of time truth finds a place to break through just as day follows the night.

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GHANA

## ASANTES SEEN AS DILEMMA FOR RAWLINGS

London TALKING DRUMS in English Vol 2, No 25, 25 Mar 85 pp 14-15

[Text]

The Asantes, it is believed, have been sceptical about the second seizure of state power by Flt Lt Jeremiah Rawlings from the start. The pangs of their exacting experiences under the Rawlings Armed Forces Revolutionary Council regime in 1979, however brief, was still familiar, when they felt that they had been singled out as the epicentre of economic sabotage.

The advent of Rawlings' Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) with the bogey Citizens Vetting Committee, National Investigations Committee and the Bureau of National Investigations (successor to the Special Branch) respectively headed by Dr Kofi Awoonor (now Envoy to Brazil), Mr C. R. Mawuenyega (now Operational Assistant to the PNDC Secretary for Interior) and Mr Mike Hamenoo all bosom friends of the Special Adviser to the PNDC, Captain (rt'd) Kojo Tsikata, was also seen as another opportunity to place the maligned entrepreneurial spirit of the Asantes under searchlight.

The Asantes have always felt uneasy with Kojo Tsikata since the 1976 subversion trial when Tsikata was reported to have claimed that the Ewes were angry because the government showed no respect for their chiefs, and treated them as "hewers of wood and drawers of water". Tsikata was therefore claiming that the Acheampong junta was serving the Akan-speaking majority in Ghana. Dr Kofi Awoonor's latest book, *Background to the Ghana Revolution*, gives credence to this claim.

The Asantes saw themselves, therefore, as an aggrieved nation within a nation. It was openly expressed in Kumasi that the Asantes had their own Head of State, the Asantehene. Consequently, at the initial stages of the revolution, the political thrust of the PNDC by way of the Defence Committees in the Asante region was made possible through Ewe-speaking cadres drawn to the revolution, some believed, by the ethnic configuration of the regime. This configuration was made apparent by those hand-picked to control the spontaneous outburst within the ranks of the Armed Forces, Police and Judiciary and also by the esoteric army of advisors who paraded the corridors of power. With the exception of the Nkrumah regime, it appears, all post 1966 regimes have hinted their stability on muted ethnic appeals.

The spectre of the nationalisation of land hanged in the air and a trip to Kumasi by officials of the regime led by the Secretary for Lands and Mineral Resources, Mr Kwesi Renner, met a mourning city clad in the traditional *kobene* and *birisi*. The message was clear and manifest. Kwesi Renner was shaken to the bone and beat a hasty retreat out of the Asante capital.

Another trip led by Dr Kwesi Botchway, the Secretary for Finance and Economic Planning, to explain the IMF induced Economic Recovery Programme was met by a hostile crowd delivering missiles of protest. The police and military had to fire warning shots and teargas to disperse the

demonstrators in order to make it easy for the delegation to seek refuge in a waiting helicopter.

A special task force was set to monitor Asante under the co-ordination of Mr Ben Fordjoe, Chief of Internal Security, with the active collaboration of Mr P. V. Obeng, the Co-ordinating Secretary, and W. O. Adjei Boadi, then a member of the PNDC. Kojo Tsikata hand-picked his political associate, Mr F. A. Jantuah (now Secretary for Local Government) to be the Regional Secretary in a desperate attempt to stem the tide of Asante opposition to the regime.

Secret trips were made to the court of the Asantehene by the Chairman of the PNDC, Flt Lt Jeremiah Rawlings. Jantuah confidently set himself the task of revamping the Defence Committee secretariats and the Regional and District Administrations with considerable resistance from the now coalesced rank and file. Could he change the hearts of his kinsfolks?

Meanwhile, Rawlings employed his connubial ties with the Asante Stool to keep the Asantehene in his fold despite an estrangement between them in 1979.

It is alleged that Rawlings' prevailing influence on the Asantehene has disconcerted some members of the Asanteman Council. The most wily amongst these malcontents were Paramount Chiefs, Nana Kwantwi Barima II, the Adansihene and Nana Amaniampong, the Mampongahene. The Mampongahene is said to be a relation of Lt Gen A. A. Afrifa, former Head of State, who was executed by Rawlings' junta together with others in 1979.

It is alleged that these two powerful Paramount Chiefs fanned destoolment sentiments against the Asantehene. It, therefore, came as no surprise when in July, 1984, the Adansihene, Nana Kwantwi Barima II, was officially destooled by the Asanteman Council upon confirmation by an Accra High Court.

In February of this year, the destooled Adansihene and five divisional chiefs in the Adansi Traditional Area were prosecuted before a Public Tribunal in Kumasi by Chief Inspector Elizabeth Adzoho on charges of illegal collection of stool land revenue and conspiracy to steal and stealing. They pleaded not guilty and were granted bail.

All is not well with the Mampongahene, Nana Atokora Amaniampong, either. He is also facing destoolment charges in the courts. Interestingly, amongst the plaintiff's lawyers is Mr Kofi Sackey, the husband of the Chief of Castle Information Bureau, Mrs Valerie Sackey, a British national. Mrs Sackey exercises effective control and direction of the Press in Ghana.

Effective opposition to the Rawlings regime in Asante had for the time being been stalemated. Rawlings' periodic visits to the court of the Asantehene had become an open secret. And it is said that the Asantehene refers to Rawlings as his son despite the fact that the Asantehene's daughter is married to a close financial associate of the late Afrifa.

Now, what has stirred the settled dust of opposition in Asante is what is reported to have happened in Kumasi between January 31 and February 2 of this year. An assassination plot on the life of Rawlings was nipped in the bud by the intelligence machinery. This time, the Head of State had to skip a planned schedule and hop from a helicopter to a waiting plane and finally slip to the safer sanctuary of the Castle in Accra. The Asantehene immediately distanced himself and the Asante people from the alleged plotters and condemned the act and in his own words said that "had the evil designs of the dissidents succeeded, it would have been a disgrace for the people of Asante."

The leader of the plotters is said to be Alhaji Mohammed Abbas, former Asante Regional Organiser of the ruling party deposed by Rawlings on New Year's eve, 1981. Alhaji Abbas, who is now a wanted man, was a member of the Planning Committee for festivities marking the Golden Jubilee of the restoration of the Asante Confederacy which invited Rawlings to Kumasi to attend a commemorative durbar.

Lending their own interpretations to the sentiments of the Asantehene, the people of Asante are whispering that it was Kojo Tsikata who devised the plot. The reason being that Kojo Tsikata is dissatisfied with Rawlings' strength in Kumasi and also with the fact that Rawlings' trusted body guards are mostly Akan-speaking.

On the other hand, there has developed the academic view that by the dictates of the Ewe tradition, Rawlings inherits from his British father's side. Rawlings' mother is an Ewe. In the eyes of the matriarchial Asante, Rawlings is an abomination. But Rawlings is now the "ward" of the Asantehene. Not to say the least, the Asante Region is benefitting from this relationship through stepped up development projects.

In December, 1982, Rawlings appealed, in a national broadcast that "Ghana is my fatherland and has always been so." If he would be denied a surrogate father among the Ewes, he has now found a fatherly tie among the Asantes by an umbilical cord which the alleged assassination attempt almost severed on that fateful "31st".

But the real question agitating the minds of Pan-Africanists now is how can the master of revolutionary strategy, Captain (rt'd) Kojo Tsikata, who professes to be an Nkrumaist, superintend over a hybrid revolution which by all intent and purposes is an anathema to the dictates of Nkrumahism? With Ghana, there are more questions than answers.

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GHANA

BRIEFS

MARITIME ACADEMY GRADUATES--On 11 December 40 cadets at the regional maritime academy in Accra received their diplomas and were called upon to put their knowledge and skills at the service of their countries. Addressing the graduates: 36 Ghanians, six Cameroonese, three Nigerians, and an Indian, Egyptian Rear Admiral Samin Ibrahim said that the main objective at the academy was to provide a regular contingent of highly-trained maritime personnel. The director announced that, to this end, the academy would be modernized. It is jointly operated by Ghana, Gambia, Cameroon, Liberia, and Sierra Leone. [Text] [Paris AFRIQUE DEFENCE in French Feb 85 No 83, p 17] 6182.

AUSTRALIA TO CLOSE MISSION--Australia is closing its High Commission in Accra. Radio Ghana quoted the Australian High Commissioner Geoffrey Allen as telling Flt-Lt Rawlings that the closure was for economic reasons. He said that Australian assistance to Ghana would continue through the High Commission in Lagos. [Text] [London TALKING DRUMS in English Vol 2, No 25, 25 Mar 85 p 23]

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IVORY COAST

STATUS OF FOREIGNERS IN NATIONAL LIFE EXAMINED

I. How Many Are There

Dakar AFRICA in French No 69, Feb 85 p 25

[Article by Kebson Ouattara: "The Threat of Aliens"]

[Text] Xenophobia and chauvinism are scourges specific to times of crisis. Is "akwaba" (hospitality), Ivory Coast's other treasure, also threatened by the "economic situation?" What kind of future can the aliens look forward to? Who are they? How many of them are there? Kebson Ouattara and Christian Nguessan looked into the problem.

"Hail to thee oh land of hope, the land of hospitality..." These words (in French) that are the first line of the national anthem, "L'Abidjanaise," aptly reflect Ivory Coast's calling as the land of welcome and immigration.

The Ivory Coast President is fond of comparing (in the simple future tense, without any shilly-shallying around with conditionals) Ivory Coast with the United States of America, a country he often cites as the shining example of a nation that owes its spectacular greatness to the contributions of immigrants from every corner of the world.

"The Old Man" believes that foreigners have been of great help to his country's development. He misses no opportunity to say so. He also remembers the political struggles in colonial times, in which he fought primarily with foreigners (mainly Malians and Burkinabes), most of whom have since settled in Ivory Coast and become Ivorian citizens. The president's sentiments and those of a majority of his compatriots are a long way from consonance.

What with the economic recession of these last several years, the unemployment and under-employment, and the housing shortages in urban areas, the presence of foreigners is increasingly resented, especially among the middle and lower classes, but equally so in intellectual circles where the alien presence is held responsible for the rampant unemployment among young university graduates and for the dilatory pace of "Ivorization" in certain business sectors.

The arrival en masse of foreigners began several decades ago. The immigrant tide was encouraged by the colonial government's decision to develop the forested South. The introduction and development of export crops in the southern part of the country required abundant manpower, which was "imported" from neighboring countries, mainly from Burkina Faso. In addition to laborers needed on the plantations, building the railroad and the beginnings of the highway system also called for strong arms that were not always to be found where the work was. With the introduction of forced labor large numbers of foreign workers were herded into Ivory Coast, sometimes against their will. Later, it was the country's swift growth that was to exercise the strongest, almost irresistible pull on the peoples of neighboring states.

In 1965, foreigners accounted for 17.5 percent of the Ivory Coast population. That rate rose to 22 percent in 1975 (26 percent of the working population), and again to 27 percent in 1983. In other words, more than one in four inhabitants of Ivory Coast is alien. About half the population of Abidjan (which had 2 million citizens in 1983) is foreign-born. And yet, in 1975 foreigners accounted for only a third of the capital's population. The likely shape of things by the year 2,000 is not an enticing prospect.

Etienne Ahonzo, Bernard Barrere, and Pierre Kopylov, experts at the Statistics Directorate, recently published a study setting forth three of the more likely hypotheses. The first is more political because it purposely underestimates the size of the foreign-born population in the year 2000: 17 million inhabitants, more than 6 million of whom are foreign-born. The second scenario calls for a population of 18 million, of whom 6.5 million are foreigners. The third, and soundest, hypothesis, the authors tell us, predicts that Ivory Coast's population will top 20 million, 8.5 million of whom will be foreigners.

All these data shift at the start of the year 2010. The third hypothesis predicts, for that date, more foreign-born than native citizens of Ivory Coast: a population estimated at 32,956,000 of whom 16,267,000 are native-born Ivory Coast citizens and 16,658,000 are foreign-born. To that variant they applied a mean growth-rate of 4.8 percent, whereas the least reliable is based on a rate of 3.9 percent.

Even with stricter immigration policies, it is impossible to drop below the second hypothesis for the year 2010. That means, in real terms, that, of a total population of 27,733,000 inhabitants, there will be 11,505,000 foreigners as against 16,267,000 natives. As one can well imagine, there is no way to prevent the country's becoming a melting-pot in the very heart of West Africa.

Of course, these projections hold only if Ivory Coast remains an economically sound country and continues to enjoy political stability and favorable climatic conditions.

## Nationalities

The non-Ivorian population is heavily Burkinabe. In 1978, they accounted for about 1.5 million inhabitants. Statistics tell us that these figures are too high. In any event, though, they are well over a million. Maybe, we are told, they may number 1.2 million. In 1985, they reportedly made up more than 50 percent of Ivory Coast's entire foreign-born population.

Right behind the Burkinabes are the Maliens (25.9 percent), the Guineans (9.7 percent), and the Ghanians (3.3 percent). People from these four bordering countries account for 83.9 percent of this population of foreign-born, to which we must add 12.6 percent of immigrants from other African countries: from Nigeria, Benin, Niger, Senegal, Togo, Liberia, Chad, Cameroon, etc. The census shows us only 3.6 percent of non-Africans, mainly French and Lebanese nationals.

Maybe we shall have to wait for the 1987 general census to get a look at the right figures. Be that as it may, it would appear that we have more aliens among us than we think. Most of them do not bother to check in with their embassies or to register with the police immigration service. The figures on Lebanese nationals are also the most controversial. Diplomatic sources report 40,000 individuals, while other sources tell us that there are 100,000 Lebanese nationals in Ivory Coast.

There is only one reliable estimate for 1985, and that is the one on the numbers of French nationals here. In 1982, there were 45,300 of them, 31,000 of them living in Abidjan. That figure dropped to 42,000 in early 1983, and to 31,826 at the end of that same year. In early January of 1985, according to the General Consul of France in Abidjan, 27,833 French nationals were counted in the Abidjan region alone. Assuming that there are roughly 10 percent of French nationals here who are not registered with the consulate, we can estimate that the French population of Ivory Coast amounts to something close to 32,000 souls, of whom 66.5 percent are men and the remaining 33.5 percent are women and children.

Where do these aliens live? Mainly in Abidjan. Ivory Coast's capital is still the destination of great numbers of immigrants: often the presence of foreigners in the country's other cities is (or was initially planned to be) merely temporary. These lesser cities are only way-stations on the migration route to Abidjan. Abidjan is also where we find most of the "other Africans" (44 percent) and almost all the non-Africans (81.9 percent). Immigrants settling in the rural areas are overwhelmingly Burkinabe. They are heavily over-represented there (60 percent) as against 45 percent nationwide: all the other immigrant nationalities are represented on the farms as well.

The immigrant labor force is essential to the workings of the Ivorian economy, both in its quantitative aspect -- it constitutes a full quarter of the working population -- and at the qualitative level, since it, almost alone, keeps some sectors going.

Foreign participation in economic activity is much higher than that of nationals in the urban areas: although it constitutes only 33.9 percent of the population, its people hold 43.5 percent of the city jobs. Out in the country districts, the equilibrium shifts to 16.4 percent and 19.1 percent. Of course, sex and age have a lot to do with these disparities between Ivorians and foreigners. While the immigrant men hold more jobs than do Ivorians, the picture among women is almost the reverse. Almost all foreign resident males old enough to work (85.4 percent of men aged 6 years or over) are in the labor market, which is not the case for Ivorian men (64.6 percent).

Native-born Ivorians hold absolute predominance in two sectors: first, the primary productive activities, where they probably hold a preponderant place in the traditional forms of agriculture (family farm) rather than the modern patterns of farming (as wage-earning workers for agribusiness). Then come the new activities that are not directly productive, but which stem directly from economic growth: they hold the second-level jobs in the administrative ranks. They also hold the majority if not the totality of jobs in the professions requiring high-level skills or not. We cannot say that Ivorians today do not hold most of the best-paying jobs. The only foreigners with whom they have any dealings in the public sector are the French technical assistance experts.

#### Lebanese

French involvement in the Ivorian economy is heavy. One might even say very heavy. France holds 31.6 percent of the Ivorian market, and ranks among the foremost of Ivory Coast's major suppliers. It overwhelms all its European partners and generally makes life hard for them, having taken over all the economic nerve-centers of the Ivorian market to the point of thoroughly disconcerting Germans, Canadians, Italians and Americans alike. And even the Japanese who, despite their breakthrough in automobiles and electronics, have not succeeded in capturing the entire national market in the face of the solidly rooted French presence.

At the industry level, among others, the French claim the lion's share. In 1982-1983, the French companies for the first time shattered the Trillion-franc turnover barrier. All the major construction contracts in Ivory Coast have gone to French companies, which invariably seem to find some way to walk off with the top prize in response to each "call for bids." They pounce on every really big project.

Even so, the French play a healthy role in the country's development, at the level of technical cooperation where their input is considerable, particularly in secondary and technical training. They do a good job, too, in military cooperation. Despite the recession and the hard jobs market, the French presence is as dynamic as ever. Besides, the recession has allowed the French companies to review their trading and industrial strategies, and to keep their position as unchallenged masters of the Ivorian market.

It is always best to describe things as they really are: the Lebanese are most unwelcome in Ivory Coast. Theirs is the alien presence most deeply resented by Ivorians.

The Lebanese? In Ivory Coast, that word is a synonym for "corruption," for "deal-cutters," for "bribe-passers," for "cheats" . . . you name it. The moment anybody mentions "fraud" in Ivory Coast, listeners instantly think "Lebanese." They are perceived as frauds who pay no taxes, as smugglers, who pay no customs duties.

The Lebanese in Ivory Coast today make up a very dynamic and very close-knit community.

Beginning as petty exchange-dealers under the colonial government, then moving into wholesale and cut-rate trading, the Lebanese have become skilled and knowledgeable businessmen and highly competitive industrialists. As the sixth-ranking investment group in 1978, the Lebanese community today holds second place with its 165 industrial firms covering almost every area of enterprise. They have the total confidence of the banks, which never hesitate at giving them loans very few Ivorian businessmen could hope for. They are giving the French savage competition, especially in the areas of industry and construction. None but the French companies, these days, can stay ahead of them in Ivory Coast.

## II. Integration Tomorrow

Dakar AFRICA in French No 69, Feb 85 p 27

[Article by Christian N'Guessan]

[Text] What fate is in store for non-Ivorian Africans in Ivory Coast? That is a delicate question, because not all these "foreigners" have the same social status, which means they have nothing to do with the Ivorians themselves. In general, intellectuals and sound middle-class residents enjoy a degree of prosperity, are readier to complain about foreigners who are not Africans, mainly the French and the Lebanese, while the difficulties the African "aliens" encounter stem from the relations that bind them to the social classes and levels of fairly modest means.

There is nothing astonishing about that. The French hold the top positions in the administration, in education, in industry and trade, positions the local intellectuals and industrialists look upon as their birthright. The Lebanese, particularly since the recession, have merrily prospered in safe and solid commercial areas ranging from pure trading to the restaurant business, via such miscellaneous sidelines as automobile sales.

"African" aliens, on the contrary, are closer to the poor, and when you come across them in the upper reaches of prosperity, their life-styles are never really ostentatious. And so there are indeed some teachers from Benin or Guinea or Togo, but they don't really bother the Ivorians.

It's quite a different story at the level of the less-affluent portion of Ivorian society. There you have a problem, compounded by its persistence.

### Pillage and Plunder

It was not until 1947 that the French colonial authorities decided to split Ivory Coast and Burkina into two separate districts. Until then, we used to speak of upper Ivory Coast and Lower Ivory Coast. Merely beginning, in 1947, to say "Upper Volta" instead

of "Upper Ivory Coast" didn't change much. Of course, the Burkinabe got occasional harrassment from the police. Also, all too often we would hear rumors to the effect that they were responsible for most of Ivory Coast's crime. It is remarkable, though, that they were never subjected to organized persecution, and that, despite the fairly negative image people had of them, they were not rejected. All in all, when you put them alongside the Senegalese, Maliens, and Guineans, they stand out as one of the communities that has best dealt with its integration.

Touchier and more distant are relations between Mauritanians and Ivorians. Two factors seem to underlie these problems. The first has to do with the fact that the Mauritanians themselves come from a country where the abolition of Black slavery occurred all too recently. Those of them who have moved into Ivory Coast, generally very light-skinned, tend to take a cold and haughty attitude, which makes it impossible for them to establish friendly relations with the Ivorians.

The source of the second factor is more practical: Mauritanians have taken over all the neighborhood retail shops. If you need a loaf of bread, or cigarettes, or soap, or a sponge, some milk or a pack of razor blades, you "run over to the Mauritanian," just as the Frenchman runs down to the grocer's.

Albert Bouabre, a salesman for a big company in Abidjan, speaks for the average Ivorian: "Nobody knows how they do it, but the minute they open up a neighborhood shop, it prospers immediately; the wholesalers give them fine service, and if an Ivorian should open up a shop next door, he wouldn't have a chance."

Are they really such gifted shopkeepers? Not everybody thinks so. Some say that the Mauretanians get special favors. Want proof? Their shops, one hears, are always in the best spots, especially in neighborhoods built by SICOGI and SOGEFHIA, the two biggest Ivorian construction companies. That is not altogether untrue.

#### Malaise

Upshot: one afternoon an argument breaks out between a Mauritanian shopkeeper and a young Ivorian -- this was early in 1980). The youth was seriously injured in the altercation. Beginning next morning, several shops were "sacked and looted by the local Abidjanese population, and several Mauritanians were seriously threatened or molested. For several days, their shops stayed shuttered."

"Ten years earlier, the Nagos (Nigerian nationals) were treated much the same," recalls a young Ivorian executive, with a grin. "It was because they owned a whole slice of small neighborhood trade, thereby fueling a sense of frustration among the poorer residents that needed only the flimsiest pretext to explode into violence. In the wake of a minor dust-up, their shops were looted and sacked."

Following that incident, a lot of Nigerians fled Ivory Coast, despite the forthright condemnation from Ivorian leaders of their countrymen's behavior. Since then, the Nigerians have kept a far lower profile; you find them running little hole-in-corner shops selling spare parts and automobile tires, while the women specialize in selling beauty products at the markets or in making wigs and braids.

As in every country in the world, the home-grown people are particularly nasty to foreigners who give them the notion that they are plotting a "sneak attack" to take over a whole sector of business. A reassuring statement from the government, coupled with a heated reproof, is not enough to satisfy the people entirely, because the malaise runs too deep, and reaches even into the forces of law and order.

Even so, relations between Ivorians and some Africans are sometimes ambiguous: that is the case with Ghanians. The first prostitutes were Ghanians, at least in Ivory Coast, and that is how they came to be called "technical assistants," not without some irony. Furthermore, Ghanians have frequently got themselves mixed up in some more or less disreputable dealings and the people in the big cities, especially those in Abidjan, look upon them as a scurvy lot and fairly dangerous to boot.

Viewed from another side, though, the Ghanian people enjoy great prestige among their Ivorian brothers. A good proportion of the peoples who make up Ivory Coast have their "cultural home-base" in that country. The Agni, the Appoloniens, the Aboures, and the Baoules, for this reason, feel very close to Ghana, although that does not rule out all friction.

You find much the same kind of relations with the Malien communities which, in Korhogo or Odienné (in the north) or Bouaké (central) feel quite at home. And then, in Bamako, they like to tell you that Bouaké is the "second-largest Malien city."

Mali-born Ivorians are great merchants and find, in the Mali community generally involved in wholesale or discount trading (export-import), an energetic partner whose acumen they value accordingly.

The hard reality of the "current situation" triggers xenophobic behavior and it is not frivolous to worry about a negative turn in relations between Ivorians and the resident alien community.

Until then, Ivorians were proud of their country's prosperity as well as of its generosity. These past 20 years, thousands of Senegalese have become citizens here under the benign eye of Ivorians. The Guineans, fleeing the despotic regime of Sékou Touré, were often welcomed with open arms to a country where it was good to live, and to a time when everybody was certain that one day he would be rich.

Times, though, have changed.

All of a sudden, Ivorians began to notice things. For instance, that half the population of Abidjan is made up of foreigners. Is it true? Yes, says the Interior Ministry. Some even add that if things don't change by then, by the year 2005 the whole of Ivory Coast's population will be 50-percent alien.

That is not all. Ivory Coast is one of the few countries where aliens (in this case non-Ivorian Africans) can easily become voters. "All of a sudden," an Ivorian journalist notes, with a smile, "you see people who are bitterly xenophobic but who harbor very lively political ambitions forced to pay assiduous court to these foreigners whom they cordially detest." There you have a vicious circle which, true, will affect only the municipal elections.

Are we to conclude that Ivory Coast is a powder-keg for the "alien" Africans who live here? That is probably putting it too strongly. The fact remains, though, that the Ivorian government is going to have to come to grips as soon as possible with this thorny question, making due allowance for the new parameters that govern this country's life. Prevention is invariably better than cure.

6182

CSO: 3419/313

KENYA

MOI CALLS FOR INTENSIFICATION OF WAR AGAINST CRIME

Nairobi THE KENYA TIMES in English 2 Mar 85 pp 1, 16

[Article by Job Githinji]

[Text]

**PRESIDENT Daniel arap Moi yesterday urged the police to intensify the fight against crime.**

The President further praised the Commissioner of Police, Mr. Bernard Njiunu, and the entire police force for their good work in combating crime and other acts of lawlessness in the country adding that he was satisfied with their work.

President Moi who is also the commander-in-chief of the armed forces said the police force needed dedicated officers ready to resist any form of temptation.

The President was officiating at a passing-out parade of 926 recruits at the Kiganjo Police Training College.

Expressing his satisfaction with the police force for combating a recent crime wave in the country, President Moi said the fight will continue until the end.

He told the recruits who included 117 women to closely follow their professional ethics in executing their duties in areas where they have been deployed.

The President further urged the recruits to resist temptations of bribery and to try to excel in their duties of guarding the wananchi against criminals.

He noted that their work was noble adding, "go ahead and excel in your duties as you have excelled as I observe today after months of vigorous training."

President Moi announced that the government would change the police uniform to make it more distinct so that the members of the public could easily identify them.

On their welfare, the President said the government had embarked on construction of good houses for police officers in Embu. Other areas, he said, will also be catered for.

The President directed the commissioner of police to add more policewomen in the traffic section.

President Moi thanked wananchi for co-operating with the police by volunteering information which led to the arrest of criminals.

He said this co-operation was important in helping to apprehend criminals and ensure a peaceful and stable nation.

The President emphasised that without peace, love and

unity, the pace of the country's development would be reduced.

"Our task is development and building the nation for our children", said the President.

He asked provincial commissioners to deploy administration policemen to assist the regular police in combating crime, noting that there were not enough policemen.

The President said, however, that the number of regular police was being increased.

He warned chiefs and sub-chiefs in the country that they will be sacked outright if bhang was found growing in their areas.

He said bhang grew on land and wondered how chiefs and sub-chiefs did not know about it yet the areas were under their jurisdiction.

"A chief or assistant chief where bhang is found growing will be sacked," the President said.

He said bhang was not a body builder and those who smoked it got spoilt.

Touching on the security situation in Marsabit district, President Moi thanked the Kenya Army for assisting police in crashing cattle rustlers and in recovering stolen cattle and goats.

On Monday last week, cattle rustlers reportedly killed 40 people in a manyatta in the Il-eret area of Marsabit district and stole 6,000 cattle and goats and 2,000 camels.

President Moi said there were people jailed in 1982 for involvement in the disturbances who wanted their jail terms reduced and wondered whether they were not aware 129 people had died during the disturbances.

Present at the ceremony included the Vice-President and Minister for Home Affairs, Mr. Mwai Kibaki, Chief of the General Staff, General J. K. Mulinge, the Commissioner of Police, Mr. Njiunu, a Minister in the Office of President, Mr. Peter Nyakiamo, Central Provincial Commissioner, Mr. Luka Galgalo and an Assistant Minister in the Office of the President, Mr. Ngumbu Njururi, and other local leaders.

CSO: 3400/882

KENYA

REGIONAL MINISTERS SIGN TRANSIT ACCORD

Nairobi THE KENYA TIMES in English 26 Feb 85 p 20

[Text]

MINISTERS for Transport and Communications of Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi on Tuesday, February 19, signed the Northern Corridor Transit Agreement in Bujumbura, Burundi.

According to a press release signed by the engineer-in-chief, Mr. J. K. Kirika, for permanent secretary in the Ministry of Transport and Communications, the signing ceremony was witnessed by representatives of Unctad, the EEC, the World Bank and Zaire.

The events that led to the agreement started in 1980 when, as a result of the representations from various landlocked states, whose essential imports and exports are routed through the port of Mombasa, a body known as the Northern Corridor Permanent Steering Committee was established.

The committee was given the task of ironing out the administrative and logistical problems associated with the

movement of transit traffic. The problems were mainly connected with the use of port facilities at Mombasa, customs and documentation procedures used for transit cargo.

The steering committee agreed in 1982 that time had come to produce a comprehensive agreement that would deal with all aspects of transit traffic.

The fundamental objective of such an agreement, the press release added, would be to obtain a smooth and rapid movement of goods originating from or destined to any party to the agreement. The drafting of the agreement was given to officials of the Unctad.

The signatories of the agreement will benefit in an increase in transit trade.

The ministers who signed on behalf of their respective countries were Messrs Arthur Magugu (Kenya), Remy Nkengurutse (Burundi), Andre Ntagerura (Rwanda) and Yosamu Mugenyi of Uganda.

— KNA

CSO: 3400/882

KENYA

## CHOTARA ARGUES FOR UNIVERSITY RELOCATION

Nairobi THE KENYA TIMES in English 26 Feb 85 p 3

[Text]

THE Nakuru District Kanu chairman, Mr. Kariuki Chotara, said on Sunday that if the main campus of the University of Nairobi was transferred to a rural area there would be little trouble from the students.

He said constant student unrest was caused by the fact that the university was situated close to several bars, where many students spent a lot of time drinking and being confused by unpatriotic individuals.

Chotara was speaking at a massive Kanu recruitment rally at Subukia market in Bahati division, Nakuru district.

Chotara, who is also a nominated MP, said students could study in peace if the university was in a rural area which had an atmosphere conducive to serious study without interference from misguided elements.

He castigated Professor Ngugi wa Thiong'o for his anti-Kenya propaganda in a

foreign country.

Noting that Ngugi had sought refuge with the very colonialists that Kenyans had shed blood to expel, Chotara said he spent six years in the forest fighting for freedom and seven in colonial detention and wondered what type of professor Ngugi was to betray his country.

He said a doctor or professor should use his knowledge to help the country, and praised women who supported the freedom struggle by risking their lives to provide food for the freedom fighters.

Chotara said good leaders should be honest with wananchi and show by deeds rather than empty words what they could do for them. He lashed at leaders who cheated wananchi using sweet words at public platforms and yet they were anti-Nyayo at heart.

He commended the Kanu youth wing in Nakuru district, saying he would ensure that they all earned a decent living by working on income-generating projects, and added that similar projects would be started for the Kanu women's wing.

Chotara asked youthwingers in Subukia to help the police root out thieves who were stealing weighing machines in the area.

He conducted an impromptu funds drive for school fees for two students who had been expelled from form five and shs. 3,980 was raised. He donated shs. 1,000.

Earlier, Chotara presented five cartons of text books to three primary schools in the area and Coun. Lasoi promised he would at a later date bring 700 text books be given to seven primary schools for Standard Eight pupils.

— KNA

CSO: 3400/882

MALI

VISIT OF SOVIET DELEGATION REPORTED

Bamako L'ESSOR in French 9-10 Feb 85 p 7

[Article by G. Traore: "UDPM-PCUS: A Positive Visit for Berezin's Delegation"]

[Text] The second part of the working session of the delegations of the PCUS [Soviet Union Communist Party] and the UDPM [Democratic Republic of Malian People] was held on Wednesday 6 February at the House of the People under the chairmanship of the second BEC conflicts commissar, Ambagarai Guindo, assisted by the Malian ambassador to Moscow, S. E. Abdoulaye Amadou Sy, by Abdrahamane Toure, the BEC political secretary's cabinet director, and other persons.

In the speech he gave for the occasion, Ambagarai Guindo said that the presence of this large Soviet delegation was testimony to the excellent relations existing between the Malian and Soviet peoples. He expressed his appreciation of the USSR's constant willingness from the first years of independence to the present time to come regularly to the aid of our country. The second BEC conflicts commissar added that Mali would like this assistance to be extended to various other areas.

Guindo expressed his desire that Soviet-Malian relations should lead to the promotion of cooperation of all kinds between our two peoples, our two parties, and our governments. Finally, he thanked the USSR for its friendly contribution to our country, and added that the Malian party and government are in agreement with the PCUS in the struggle against imperialism and Zionism, and in bringing an end to the arms race.

The head of the Soviet delegation, Anatoliy Berezin, said that this meeting between the PCUS and the UDPM had the goal of further consolidating cooperation between Mali and the USSR. He stated that his delegation had profited greatly from its stay in our country since, he emphasized, "we made good contact with the Malian people in our travels throughout the country, particularly in Segou, Selinque, and Niono, and we were convinced of the concern of the Malian authorities to improve the living standard of the Malian people." He said he was favorably impressed by the plans and perspectives and the enormous possibilities of the Segou area before going on to express his positive appreciation for the meetings which his delegation had with the representatives of the UDPM.

The memorandum submitted for the approval of the delegation, listing several items, including the Bougouni-Kalana highway and the Diamou cement factory, will be the subject of a frank and cordial discussion between the two parties.

Finally, it may be noted that the Soviet delegation, after paying courtesy visits to officials of the party and government, left our country last Friday.

9824  
CSO: 3419318

MOZAMBIQUE

LISBON: MOZAMBIQUE APPEALS FOR AID FOLLOWING POWER LINE DAMAGE

LD280026 Lisbon Domestic Service in Portuguese 2330 GMT 27 Mar 85

[Text] Bad weather in southern Mozambique has brought down over 30 high-tension pylons in that part of the country and disrupted all power supplies to the capital, Maputo.

At the end of today's meeting of the Council of Ministers, the Mozambique Government issued a communique appealing to the international community for help in the face of this new calamity hitting the south of the country, particularly the Maputo region.

The government has urged the population to save energy and stressed that in view of the magnitude of the damage, restrictions will continue for an indefinite period of time.

The high-tension pylons brought down are part of the power line running from Cabora-Bassa.

The disruption of power supplies to Maputo has been the subject of speculation and attributed to possible sabotage attacks by Renamo [Mozambique national resistance].

CSO: 3442/228-F

MOZAMBIQUE

BRIEFS

SEA TRANSPORT STUDY--An agreement was signed in Maputo today by the transport study institute of the Italian (Drieta) University and the Southern African Transport and Communications Commission [SATCC] to carry out a cooperation study on sea transport. The documents were signed by Dr Guadoni on the side of Italy and by Engineer Figueiredo on behalf of the chairman of the SATCC coordinating committee. The project was approved in March 1983 by the SATCC committee of ministers and the Italian Government agreed to finance it during the Southern African Development Coordination Conference meeting in February 1984. The study, which is budgeted at \$230,000, provides a survey of sea services in the nine SATCC countries, including the flow of merchandise from and to ports of the region, the sea courses used, and the companies offering freight services in Southern Africa. [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1700 GMT 25 Mar 85]

CHINESE AID--A donation from the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries which included 550 pieces of clothing was delivered in Maputo today. The donation delivered by Wang Hao, Chinese ambassador to Mozambique, was received by Abdul Bargina, a member of the Mozambican Association of Solidarity and Friendship with the Peoples. [Text] [Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese 1400 GMT 26 Mar 85]

CSO: 3442/228-F

NAMIBIA

NORTH, NORTH-EAST AREAS RESTRICTED TO STOP INFILTRATION

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 6 Mar 85 p 11

[Staff report: "Permits Needed for Areas in SWA"]

[Text] Windhoek--A large part of the northern and northeastern Southwest may no longer be visited without a permit. Severe punishments await transgressors, as announced here yesterday morning by the Commissioner of the Southwest Police, Lieutenant General Dolf Gouws.

Security districts which are affected are Kaokoland, Ovambo, Kavango, East Caprivi, Bushmanland and eastern Hereroland.

General Gouws said at a news conference that the order under the Proclamation on Security Districts had been issued for security reasons. According to him, the security force can no longer guarantee the security of members of the public visiting the area. Another reason is to corner infiltrators in the area.

According to a statement read by General Gouws, the prohibition does not apply to people whose "permanent homes or permanent residences are located within these security districts."

"People who have already established themselves within these security districts, but only live there for a temporary reason, will have to have a permit."

The order will be in effect as of 11 March when it will be announced in the government gazette.

General Gouws said that people who want to visit these areas can apply for a permit at their nearest police station in the Southwest. Visitors are advised to apply for the permit at least 3 days before the planned visit.

According to General Gouws the police will take strong action against transgressors. The punishment upon conviction is a fine of 600 rands maximum or, alternatively, a prison term of at most 1 year or a prison term without the option of a fine, or both.

The administration of the proclamation will be handled by the Southwest police.

Mr Wikkie van Rooyen, deputy director of the Trade and Tourism directorate, said that he didn't expect tourism to the Southwest to be affected because few people visit those areas.

8700  
CSO: 3401/136

NIGERIA

IDIAGBON CALLS FOR EXPLOITATION OF NATURAL GAS

AB192100 Lagos NAN in English 1632 GMT 19 Mar 85

[Text] Lagos, 19 Mar (NAN)--The chief of staff, Supreme Headquarters, Maj Gen Tunde Idiagbon, said today in Lagos that gas worth about 500,000 naira was being flared daily by oil companies operating in the country.

Maj Gen Idiagbon said in an address at the opening of a two-day seminar on natural gas that Decree 99 of 1979 on associated gas re-injection was promulgated to rectify the situation. Under the amended provision of Decree 99, oil companies which fail to utilise gas associated with oil in their fields are liable to a fine of two kobo per 283 standard cubic metres payable in foreign exchange as from 1 January.

In the address read by Alhaji Abdullahi Ibrahim, minister of education, science and technology, the chief of staff said that it was "unforgivable" to continue to flare gas when many communities could benefit from the gas if it was harnessed as a source of electricity generation. He said that although the volume of gas utilised in the country had risen from 4 percent in 1977 to 20 percent in 1984, there was the need for a well-drawn up programme to make gas an alternative economic base to crude oil.

In a paper, Mr Terry Davis, a consultant to Pan Ocean (Nigeria) Oil Company, said that natural gas was a potential feedstock for the country's fertilizer plants which could be based on small-scale production. He said that small-scale plants required little funding and were easier to maintain. The development of the fertilizer sector would contribute immensely to the attainment of the country's agricultural objectives, he said.

In another paper, Mr Babalola Kumalu, general manager of the liquefied natural gas unit, Shell Petroleum Development Company (Nigeria) Ltd., said that it was uneconomical to build a domestic gas pipeline network because the volume of gas currently being used in domestic cooking was low.

According to the NNPC [Nigeria National Petroleum Company], the country's proven gas reserves stand at 300 trillion cubic meters. About 200 delegates are attending the seminar, which is being sponsored by the NNPC and the oil producing and trading section of the Lagos Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

NIGERIA

FORMER KADUNA GOVERNOR RECEIVES 21-YEAR JAIL SENTENCE

AB280830 Lagos NAN in English 0803 GMT 28 Mar 85

[Text] Kaduna, 27 Mar (NAN) --The Kaduna zone of the Special Military Tribunal on Recovery of Public Property today sentenced the former governor of Kaduna state, Abba Musa Rimi, to 21 years in prison for corruptly enriching 96 legislators of the defunct State House of Assembly to the tune of N500,000 from the security votes. Rimi, was however, discharged and acquitted by the tribunal on the first count of expending N922,900 which was part of security votes of the state government on other things than government business.

The chairman of the tribunal, Brig Peter Ademokai, said a prosecution witness, Alhaji Abbashe Abdullahi, who was the chairman of the appropriation committee in the defunct legislature, had told the tribunal that he collected the N50,000 [as received] from Rimi on behalf of members of the assembly. In his own defence, Rimi admitted giving the money to the legislators "for keeping law and order in their constituencies." When asked to plead for mitigation of sentence, Rimi quoted a verse from the Holy Koran which says: "From Allah we come and unto Him shall we return."

The tribunal ordered that the sum of N42,000, yet to be refunded by the former legislators, should be paid within 14 days, adding that defaulters should be arrested and detained until they pay up.

CSO: 3400/815

NIGERIA

BRIEFS

EEC AID--Nigeria is to receive about 150 million naira aid from the EEC for agriculture, desertification and drought control. This was announced in Kaduna today by the community's director general in charge of development, Dr J. R. (Pujie), when he called on Governor Usman Muazu. Dr (Pujie) said the commission had (?retraced) the application for agricultural. [passage indistinct].

TRADE SURPLUS WITH EEC--Lagos, 28 Mar (NAN/PANA)--Nigeria recorded a trade surplus of about 3.5 million dollars against the European Economic Community (EEC) in the first six months of last year, the director-general for development at the EEC, Dr Dieter Frisch, said in Lagos yesterday. He told newsmen that Nigeria also recorded a trade surplus of about 3 billion [figures as received] dollars with the community in 1983. He said that the growing trade deficit by the EEC would be overcome, adding that Nigeria and the community were already holding talks on joint ventures in financial and agricultural projects. The director-general added that the EEC would help Nigeria to solve problems of desert encroachment, road development and water supply. The EEC was prepared to grant soft loans totaling about 1.8 million dollars to enable the government to set up small-scale agricultural companies in certain areas of the country, he said, adding that 1 percent interest would be charged on the loan and that a 40-year grace period would be allowed. [Text]  
[Dakar PANA in English 1735 GMT 28 Mar 85 AB]

BANNED PARTY CHAIRMAN WANTED--Bauchi, 28 Mar (NAN)--The chairman of the Proscribed Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) in Bauchi, Alhaji Bappa Ahmed, has been declared wanted by the police for allegedly embezzling N130,000 belonging to the party. A police statement issued yesterday in Bauchi, said that the amount was dubiously collected and misappropriated by Alhaji Bappa during the last electioneering campaign in the state. The statement advised Alhaji Bappa to report immediately to the special investigation panel set up by the state government for further directives. [Text] [Lagos NAN in English 1250 GMT 28 Mar 85 AB]

GAS RECYCLING PLANT COMMISSIONED--Port Harcourt, 17 Mar (NAN)--The head of state, Major General Muhammadu Buhari, yesterday commissioned an 80 million naira gas re-cycling plant, capable of increasing the country's daily oil production by 15,000 barrels. The plant, sited at Obiafu-Obrikom, near Port Harcourt, is a joint venture between the Nigerian AGIP Oil Company, NNPC [Nigerian National Petroleum Company] and Philips Oil Company. Maj Gen Buhari said at the ceremony that oil companies had not effectively utilised Nigeria's abundant natural gas as a foreign exchange earner. He said that the government was prepared to assist the companies to embark on projects geared toward effective gas utilisation. The head of state commended AGIP and other oil companies which had set [word indistinct] utilisation facilities and noted that the Obiafu-Obrikom plant was the first of its kind in the country. "With the development of more projects such as this, gas flaring will become a thing of the past," Maj Gen Buhari said. [Excerpt] [Lagos NAN in English 1300 GMT 17 Mar 85 AB]

CSO: 3400/815

SENEGAL

ABDOU LAYE WADE CLAIMS PS IS MINORITY

Dakar WAL FADJRI in French 8-25 Mar 85 pp 3-7

[Interview with Abdoulaye Wade, secretary general of the PDS [Senegalese Democratic Party], by Youssoupha Ndiaye and Sidy Lamine Niass; date and place not given]

[Text] After an absence from the national territory of nearly a year, Abdoulaye Wade returned to Senegal on 16 February. It was an absence that caused great speculation. His summons by police as soon as he arrived also roused questions. On all these matters, we have tried to shed light with the secretary general of the PDS. We also looked at the future of his party, which suffered greatly during his absence.

[Question] Abdoulaye Wade summoned to the Central Police Station: That simple announcement has everyone buzzing. What was the reason for the summons?

[Answer] I was indeed summoned to the Central Police Station on 19 February. According to the commissioner with whom I talked, it was on the basis of a letter written by Jean Collin (letter No 154/PR/SG/JUR of 5 November 1984) and sent to the director general of security, that it was decided to question me on two articles which appeared in the Parisian press. The letter was accompanied by a number of questions that the commissioner asked me. For two reasons, however, I could have failed to respond to the summons. First of all, as an attorney, I may respond only to a dean of the examining magistrates and finally, as deputy, I enjoy the same privilege. Furthermore, according to the terms of Article 50 of the constitution, a deputy may not be prosecuted for the opinions he expresses. Furthermore, any proceedings outside the court must be authorized by the bureau of the National Assembly. Despite all those things, I chose to respond to the summons.

[Question] What was the substance of the questions?

[Answer] The commissioner presented me with the two articles: one published in JEUNE AFRIQUE from 15 to 22 August 1984 and entitled: "Wade Breaks His Silence," and the other published in LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS, No 1519 of 11 October 1984, entitled "Senegal: The Settling of Accounts Within the Governmental Party." As for the first, he took out but a single passage, the one in which I say: "The soldiers have no shoes, no stockings. They eat very poorly and some even claim

they have not been paid for months." I was referring to soldiers returning from Lebanon and who were demanding their discharge pay at the time. Obviously, I saw that he had underlined passages, particularly those referring to Jean Collin. Actually, in that article, I said, in short, that Collin is the super prime minister who exercises the real duties of president of the republic.

You probably noticed that in the bulletin signed by Djibo Ka and published by the APS and the AFP, mention is made of false rumors. But Djibo Ka does not say precisely what false news he is talking about. Actually, I defend the interests of the soldiers, of the military. As a citizen first and next as a deputy, it is my duty to defend the interests of everyone, without even asking anyone's opinion. Just as this is a moral obligation, I have the right not to reveal my sources of information.

As for the second article, it was written by a journalist who signed it in his own name, independently of me and who does not even refer to me. In answer to the commissioner's question "Have you read it?" I answered, "Naturally, I have read it, just as I read everything written in French and English on Senegal." He then asked me whether I was behind it. Answer: "That is not your business. I am not required to answer that question." Another question: "What is your opinion of the content of the article? Do you believe that the government is in the street in Dakar as the author of the article maintains?" Answer: "My evaluations of the Senegalese political situation are always the subject of regular bulletins from my party, bulletins of which you always receive a copy. Look at those documents."

To ask people their opinions is what one calls an inquisition, for no law requires me to give my opinion about what I have read.

[Question] Beyond all those questions, what should one point out?

[Answer] Beyond all that, it is also true that I was called for the second time at Collin's request. The first time was 10 April 1984 following the Thiare meeting in Sine-Saloum, where I had denounced him. I had stated at that time that he controlled real power in Senegal and that he was the real president of the republic. It was on that basis that I attacked him. Actually, I do not attack him because he is white, yellow or red. I am absolutely antiracist. Racism would consist precisely in not denouncing Collin because he is white. If my political analysis leads me to observe (I, who fight power) that power is in Collin's hands, why would I not fight him?

[Question] You can prove that Collin governs without reigning?

[Answer] Proof? Why does he have me summoned when the republic has constitutionally established three branches of government? Is there not a Judicial Branch that is entrusted with the task of carrying out investigations of crimes while the Legislative Branch passes laws and the Executive Branch has them enforced? On what basis then, he who acts as state minister, can he have me questioned over the ministers of interior and justice? What gives him those powers? That gentlemen must tell us where he gets powers enabling him, over and above the judicial authority, to have me summoned and questioned. That

is why I went to the Supreme Court. Is that not proof that he has exorbitant powers that go beyond the constitution?

Furthermore, in his own party, you know that he is the master as chairman of the conflict committee. At the same time, he is a super prime minister in the country. Proof of this is that no minister can correspond with the Office of President without going through Collin, who gives his opinion and who handles all the problems. For example, what industrial development project can go from a minister to the president without Collin's opinion? None. Furthermore, our election code was drafted by whom? Normally, it should be by the minister of interior and the keeper of the seals, as it is done in all countries of the world. But here, it is in Collin's offices that it is done. So do not ask me for proof!

[Question] But those exorbitant powers of Collin.... One would say that you just noticed them.

[Answer] I came to that analysis starting in 1983-1984, after the election of President Abdou Diouf, in other words, when he was named secretary general of the Office of President. The straw that broke the camel's back came at the time of the visit of former Guinean Prime Minister Diarra Traore. Commenting on that visit, LE SOLEIL mentioned that Traore had been received by his Senegalese counterpart, Jean Collin, naturally, thus confirming my evaluation.

Concerning my summons, I was saying that there is an abuse of power because that authority was not to take such measures that are the province of justice. That is why I went to the Supreme Court, not only to obtain the annulment of that decision, but above all, the confirmation that there is indeed an abuse of power. As an administrative act authorized by no law, taking the law into one's own hands is nothing less than a flagrant abuse of power.

[Question] When one hears you exposing Jean Collin, one feels that one is very far from the period of the national consensus, a period of euphoria during which you were on good terms with him.

[Answer] Actually, it is not a matter of personal relations. Under Senghor, I had normal relations with Collin although he was the artisan of elections that I often contested. But there are operations which, within the context of a country, can be understood even if one does not agree. For example, that there should be from 10 to 15 percent election fraud in Senegal, with all the problems of structure, sociology, and so on, can be understood and one hopes to find methods for solving such problems in time, when seen from the perspective of a plan. What one asks for in a country is for progress, evolution.

[Question] Let us go on to another theme: your stay in France. Was it not a voluntary exile?

[Answer] There was no voluntary exile. We were not participating in the elections and there were no major activities. I do not see why I would have remained in Senegal when I am not a civil servant, but an international lawyer. I have a number of cases to work on and I earn my living by working on matters

that do not always have to do with Senegal. That is the first reason that has to do with my professional activities that take me abroad.

Actually, that rumor was spread by the PS because our adversaries are annoyed when I am abroad. That is the truth. As long as we are shut up in the cocoon in which Senegal is, they can do what they want. Our communiqus are not even broadcast on radio or television. But they know that once abroad and in touch with the international press, they can no longer spread whatever they want.

[Question] As during the heyday of colonialism, it is therefore in France that you want to settle Senegalese problems under the arbitration of the former mother country.

[Answer] We do not need France's arbitration to settle problems concerning only Senegalese. Those problems must be settled by the Senegalese themselves and in Senegal.

[Question] Nearly 8 months abroad for the secretary general of a party, it that not too long?

[Answer] For my fellow members and myself, it is not too much. Listen, I have to answer only to my fellow members. I do not have to give explanations to those not of my party. The National Secretariat of the PDS congratulated me for the work I did during those 8 months and I am convinced that my Political Bureau will do the same. I will also report to the National Convention of my party. Outside of that, the opinions of others, who are free to express them, are of no interest to me. I am accountable for the strategy I define for my party only to my fellow members.

[Question] You defend the interests of whom? Those of a few tens of thousands of members or those of the people, that great mass of over 6 million souls?

[Answer] I believe that today, the PDS embodies the profound aspirations of the majority of the Senegalese people. Abdou Diouf and the PS know it well and do not dare to organize honest elections. If our party is popular, it is indeed because it defends the interests of the masses.

[Question] You spoke before of exposing the so-called Senegalese democracy before international opinion. Why not begin at home?

[Answer] But that has already been done.

[Question] Not yet.

[Answer] What do you mean? Did the November 1984 elections not adequately prove, with a participation rate of 23.53 percent and an abstention of 76 percent of the Senegalese people, who followed the instructions of the PDS to abstain, that the PS has been exposed in Senegal? I believe it has. And at any rate, you have to do both things at once because the other countries have had the wool pulled over their eyes. It is very easy to permit the creation of

15 parties and then stifle them, not allow them to speak, to live, to exist. The political reality shows that there is no democracy in Senegal. And I maintain that elections as in Nicaragua (I am measuring my words), Gabon or the Ivory Coast are more democratic than in Senegal.

[Question] Some say that you went to France to negotiate power in Senegal.

[Answer] With whom? No, I did not negotiate power and it is a mistake to say so. It is not up to me to bargain over power. Nor do I have to seek power from France. Power is gained from the Senegalese people. Furthermore, Djibo Ka said that that did not hold water. And yet, I believe that the work of information and political contacts abroad is important. Nevertheless, I had no contact, either direct or indirect, with the French Socialist Party or with the French Government. On the other hand, we held working meetings in France with our political friends from the MRG (Radical Leftist Movement), for the group begun by Mendes France more or less corresponds to our political bent. Naturally, the MRG is part of the government coalition, but we had no contact with the French Government.

[Question] Not even through the MRG?

[Answer] No. Contacts were between parties.

[Question] By quoting Djibo Ka as a reference after condemning his "intellectual dishonesty," do you not destroy the credibility of your answer?

[Answer] By nature, I avoid global condemnations. I will give you the tape of Djibo Ka's statement. For example, when he says that the PDS asked that the police forces on the day of the elections be made available to the political parties, that is a monstrous lie because he can exhibit no document proving it, while we can show our memorandum on the Electoral Code dating from 1981. Nevertheless, when, in answer to a question from Essomba de "Bingo" asking whether I was not in the process of negotiating power in France, he answered that he did not think so, he was telling the truth. In one and the same speech, there can be both lies and the truth.

[Question] When Mr Wade is absent, the PDS loses speed.

[Answer] Not at all. The proof is that I have found my party strengthened. It has always published the bulletins on its work. When I am in France, I am in daily contact with the officials. It is obvious that when the secretary general is present, all activity concentrates around Dakar. But this does not mean that the PDS was not active during my absence. For example, there was a regional council of PDS women for the region of Thies in Mbour in January 1985 and a big meeting in Bignona, the city that was our weak spot in Casamance. Those demonstrations were very popular and had great success.

[Question] What do you think of the League of Black States and the Arab counteroffensive?

[Answer] I admit that that problem found me in Europe and I do not yet have enough information on which to judge. The party has not examined it, as far as I know.

[Question] What answer should be given to the letter from the member appearing in LE POLITICIEN?

[Answer] I believe that that article was not written by a member of the PDS. It is a kind of fiction and I think journalists must be given the freedom to write what they want.

[Question] And the accusations of "Xibaar"?

[Answer] Let us be consistent. I am speaking to you as secretary general of the PDS and you ask me whether I have resigned.

[Question] As far as we know, you are not only accused of having resigned. Our colleague rather accuses you of mismanagement, of do-nothingness, on the subject of "Takusaan."

[Answer] "Xibaar" is remote-controlled; that is a known fact. All those organs which make it a practice to attack me received money to do so. It is sad, but it is the truth.

[Question] Those are serious accusations.

[Answer] The accusation is not serious at all. We have a company: the Interafricaine d'Editions. Assume that that company receives 3 billion in receipts and spends them. How does that affect an employee? It is not his problem because no one stole money from anyone. Even better, it is false. The figures of "Xibaar" are completely ridiculous. Charles Seck is even unaware of the newspaper's real expenses. At most, when the newspaper was seized, the books showed 7 million in receipts not recovered from newsagents in the interior of Senegal. That money has not come in yet. "Xibaar" confuses the shareholder which I am and the company that put out "Takusaan." It is not I who manage the Interafricaine d'Editions, much less "Takusaan."

[Question] And the unexpended balances of which our colleague speaks?

[Answer] The "Takusaan" staff know that every month, I subsidized the newspaper with my own money, using my personal checks. The books are there. Even better, I am paying "Takusaan" debts to banks, amounting to several million, when nothing other than a moral obligation requires me to do so. A company must not be confused with its shareholders.

Furthermore, after an experiment of 1 year, "Takusaan" suspended its activities in agreement with personnel and we are going to resume it, as we promised. Since my return, I have talked with a number of former journalists on the subject.

[Question] Last, in boycotting the municipal and rural elections, did you not help the PS?

[Answer] When one cannot prove one's representativeness through elections, one does so through abstention, which is a way of voting. We proved that the PS has

only a minority by virtue of the fact that only a minority went to the polls. I think that there are no better elections. I regret that your newspaper did not analyze those elections.

[Question] You must have missed it. "The People Win by Abstention" is the headline of our issue 17 on the day after those elections.

[Answer] I am sorry then. I did not know that. So much the better for me then.

11,464  
CSO: 3419/337

SOUTH AFRICA

CP OFFICIAL DEPLORES ASSEMBLY'S LACK OF POWER

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 27 Mar 85 p 4

[Text]

**HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.** — White voters lived in fear because the Government had lost control of the country's finances, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, deputy leader of the Conservative Party, said.

"We are busy here with a farce," he said in debate on the White Own Affairs Budget.

The House of Assembly had no real control over its own affairs, which were all subject to General Affairs laws in terms of the constitution.

"This debate is proof this House no longer has any power."

Dr Hartzenberg said one of the most important aspects of self-determination was control of funds and the Assembly vote for Own Affairs of R2,2-billion amounted to only 4,83 percent of the main General Affairs Budget of R31-billion plus the Post Office Budget of R4-billion and the Transport Budget of R10-billion.

Even if all the funds voted to the provinces for hospitals, roads and

other services were seen as Own Affairs funds, these amounted to only 16,2 percent of all appropriations.

"This Chamber is not even in a position today to say the drought is not yet broken and we would like to take funds from a vote other than agriculture to provide drought relief without the approval of the other Chambers of parliament. Is this evidence of control over own affairs?"

Dr Hartzenberg said the Assembly could not even impose levies on Whites without the approval of the other Houses.

"The only thing the Minister of the Budget in this House can do without the approval of the other Chambers is to receive donations. He should establish a charity organisation to provide for the needs of the Whites.

"This House has no power that is not dependent on the approval of the other Houses and the Government says we have self-determination over our own affairs," he said.

CSO: 3400/874

SOUTH AFRICA

BOTHA SAYS NEW COUNCIL IS PROOF OF REFORM

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 27 Mar 85 p 12

[Text]

CAPETOWN. - The question of political rights for Blacks was not whether they should have them, but how it could be done without one population group permanently dominating others, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said in Cape Town yesterday.

Mr Botha was opening a meeting of the Council for the Coordination of Local Government Affairs, which he said was concrete proof of the Government's intention to bring about evolutionary and peaceful constitutional development.

The Government remained committed to establishing constitutional structures which would also afford members of the Black communities the opportunity to express themselves politically beyond the local government level.

"The question is not whether Black communities should be given political rights but how it

should be done without one population group being placed in a position to permanently dominate the other."

Mr Botha said the individual in South Africa could only achieve full political rights within his own group. The protection of group rights did not, as alleged by some, contradict the protection of the rights of the individual.

"On the contrary, the individual's rights are dependent on his group's rights being protected."

He said yesterday's meeting of the council was characteristic of the diversity of the country's society. Representatives of the three tiers of Government and all the country's population groups were present at the meeting.

Black local authorities had been granted official representation on the council and would also be represented on regional service councils.

The Urban Council's Association of South

Africa (UCASA) would be officially recognised as the official mouthpiece of Black local authorities.

Mr Botha praised Black local authority councillors who, in spite of severe criticism, antagonism and harassment had proved their devotion and loyalty to their communities and added that they would be able to make a valuable contribution to regional service councils.

Mr Botha said the Government planned to introduce the Regional Service Councils Bill after the Easter recess and to establish the first councils in the major centres immediately after the promulgation of the Bill.

The fact that Blacks were given official participation in the Coordinating Council, local authorities and in regional service councils was an important component in building acceptable constitutional structures to the satisfaction of moderate and reasonable people. - Sapa.

CSO: 3400/875

SOUTH AFRICA

PPF CRITICIZES BOTHA'S DEFENCE OF LE GRANGE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 26 Mar 85 p 2

[Article by Brian Stuart]

[Text]

THE State President, Mr P W Botha, would "rue the day" he had defended the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Louis le Grange, over incidents at Uitenhage last week, Mrs Helen Suzman told a Press conference in Cape Town yesterday.

Mrs Suzman and other Progressive Federal Party Parliamentarians who visited the Eastern Cape at the weekend said there was substantial evidence that the police had travelled in two Casspirs, one ahead and one behind the marching group.

Since Casspirs were military vehicles, armoured and built to withstand land mine explosions, there was no reason to suppose that sticks and stones posed any threat to them. She believed the group had been a peaceful one.

The PFP team said they were personally convinced that the crowd did not surround a lone Casspir, as suggested in the official statement issued by Mr Le Grange after the event.

Dr Alex Boraine, chairman of the Party's Federal Executive, said sworn statements showed that no "March on Uitenhage" had been planned. People had intended to travel by taxi and other transport from Langa to KwaNobuhle, which would have taken them through part of Uitenhage.

The police arrived and stopped people from using transport. In this way people started to walk, and the number of walkers increased. If the police had not prevented people using motor transport, "the whole ghastly affair would never have happened."

Mrs Suzman said that what happened next was the shooting. If, as alleged by Mr Le Grange, there had been a riotous situation, she would have expected attempts to disperse the crowd with tear-gas, sneeze gas and rubber bullets before people were shot with live ammunition.

None of these preparatory steps were taken.

Mr Errol Moorcroft of Albany quoted Mr Le Grange as saying the first shot had been fired into the ground ahead of the leader of the crowd. There was evidence that the first shot had hit a man riding a bicycle.

"Have you ever tried riding a bicycle uphill while throwing stones at police in a Casspir?," queried Mrs Suzman.

Mr Moorcroft and Dr

Boraine stressed that the presence of Zulu police in the area had created "a very angry, very bitter" reaction from the Xhosa inhabitants of the area. The Zulus were referred to as "Gatsha's impis" or "the Tsakas".

Dr Boraine said: "The whole area is now like a tinder-box — Uitenhage, Somerset East, Graaff-Reinet, Fort Beaufort." Asked how seriously the PFP viewed the national situation, he replied: "I find it hard to exaggerate how serious it is.

"Almost without exception, every day of every week somebody is being killed somewhere. Going into the township situation is like going into a foreign country. The majority of Whites have no idea of how endemic violence is in South Africa, nor the Government either."

CSO: 3400/874

SOUTH AFRICA

COMMENTARY DISCUSSES UPCOMING JUDICIAL INQUIRY

MB261742 Johannesburg International Service in English 1500 GMT 26 Mar 85

[Station commentary: "The Enquiry Into the Uitenhage Violence"]

[Text] It is not surprising after a tragic event such as last week's violence at Uitenhage, in which 19 people were killed, that there should be different points of view on what actually happened. It is for this reason that the state president, Mr P.W. Botha, has appointed a judicial commission of inquiry into the matter. The bandying about of different versions and accusations and counter accusations cannot serve any useful purpose, and can be settled only by a proper investigation of the facts.

Following the event last Thursday, the minister of law and order, Mr Louis le Grange, told parliament in Cape Town that police had been forced to open fire when a crowd of more than 3,000 blacks marching toward Uitenhage had refused an order to disperse, ignored warning shots, and then surrounded the police and pelted them with stones and petrol bombs.

The following day, six members of the opposition party in the House of Assembly visited Uitenhage and conducted their own enquiry into the matter. From their information the members of Parliament allege, among other things, that the marchers had been peaceful and that there was no evidence of them having carried stones or petrol bombs. Allegations will be thoroughly investigated by the judicial commission of inquiry chaired by Mr Justice Donald Kannemeyer.

Hearings are to start tomorrow in the Uitenhage Magistrate's Court. Judge Kannemeyer told newsmen he interpreted his instruction to mean that he was to investigate the reasons which led to the confrontations and to the deaths of some of the marchers. Stressing that he was to submit his report as a matter of urgency, he said that allegations and counter allegations had been made about a matter of the greatest national importance and concern. He intended to do all in his power to complete his report with the least possible delay.

South Africa's proud history of judicial impartiality ensures that Judge Kannemeyer's report will be freely and widely published giving the true facts of the matter.

CSO: 3400/869-F

SOUTH AFRICA

KENNEDY'S DISINVESTMENT BILL CRITICIZED AS INTERFERENCE

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 12 Mar 85 p 14

[Commentary by Dawie in "My Political Pen" column: "Sly Plan to Harm South Africa Must Be Fought by Any Means"]

[Text] This week one of the potentially most harmful steps in the disinvestment campaign against South Africa was taken with the so-called anti-apartheid measure which Senator Kennedy and his kindred souls want to make into law in the American Congress.

Through this, something has started in the United States--one of South Africa's strongest trade associates--which elsewhere in the world, in the Scandinavian countries for example, has already taken on considerable dimensions.

Crippling Blow

The sudden Kennedy concern over South Africa naturally has less to do with concern about the "oppressed" in South Africa than with the fate of the Democratic Party which has received a few crippling blows in American politics, causing the party to reel.

The old democratic coalition of northern liberals, blacks and southern laborers looks sicker all the time. The democrats are being accused of representing old and useless ideas and of abandoning the blacks. These are failures which stand out even stronger against a Reagan philosophy which has restored pride in America.

Crusade

The primarily democratic anti-South African campaign received momentum right after President Reagan achieved such an overwhelming success in the presidential election. Afterwards Senator Kennedy paid a visit to Ethiopia and South Africa--and the result is an anti-South African measure!

Why not introduce a bill in congress to force Ethiopia to reform by renouncing Marxism and making an end to the starvation and misery among the Ethiopian population?

No, "liberals" such as Senator Kennedy don't see much benefit in that route. They prefer to avoid fundamental objections in the United States on interference in the domestic affairs of another country through a crusade against "apartheid." This is an easier and more likable route. In that manner President Reagan's involvement with this country can be smeared and the American Blacks appeased.

#### Foot in the Door

The bill with which they want to corner South Africa is according to some commentators "more moderate" than originally expected. Just see how they stress that no one will actually be hurt!

Perhaps those tactics are the result of there being a stronger realization in the United States itself about the damage which could be caused by boycott measures. Not the least of those is the fact that especially those who are supposed to help in the sanctions are the ones which will be affected the worst.

#### A Vietnam

On the other hand, the "moderate" bill should surely be seen instead as a sly attempt to get a foot in the door. With an apparently less controversial proposal the democratic leaders hope to get support beyond the party line for a bill which, once it is in the code of law, can be easily changed later on to tighten the screws.

Opponents of sanctions and disinvestment will have to point that out, just as they will have to firmly stress the fact that the United States would create the risk of an economic Vietnam in Africa if this campaign were to succeed.

Dawie pointed this "Vietnam" danger out already earlier this year. This means that if sanctions are indeed strictly applied, a dozen or more neighboring states of South Africa will be brought to their knees and an entire subcontinent can become an economic swamp--which will also become an American burden.

Due to sharp tensions which will result, and which could end in a struggle between black and white, the American government ultimately will perhaps be forced to intervene directly in South Africa itself.

According to some reports, in the United States there are signs of hardening against the disinvestment campaign. But is that enough?

Obviously Americans who are aware of the dangers of such a campaign for the United States itself should act in a more coordinated and effective manner to halt it.

To do so they need all the help they can get from South Africa. A black leader such as Captain Gatsha Buthelezi recently furnished an important contribution in the United States.

### **Broader Support**

People like him deserve broader support however, beyond party- and other lines of separation, for the disinvestment campaign is, after all, the type of reflex which will harm everyone in South Africa, no matter who or what you are.

It should be remembered that South Africa's most effective deterrent against any kind of foreign attack, including disinvestment campaigns, is a strong, healthy economy.

People who now protest against necessary steps to bring the economy back to a healthy foundation again should keep that in mind as well.

8700  
CSO: 3401/139

SOUTH AFRICA

NO INVITATION TO UN GENEVA CONFERENCE ON FAMINE IN AFRICA

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 12 Mar 85 p 8

[Text] The fact that the United Nations can hold a conference in Geneva on the emergency situation in Africa without involving an important regional power such as South Africa will not surprise many people. They have already become accustomed to the dumbfounding shortsightedness and political usefulness of that world organization.

Perhaps the United Nations Organization was worried about a repetition of the incident at the December conference on famine when black representatives from Africa would not allow the proceedings to start until the South African delegates had left.

However that may be, it is tragic, as Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha wrote in a letter to the chairman of the conference last weekend. The famine in a large part of the continent is being described as one of the worst catastrophies which have struck humankind. Hundreds of thousands of people died of hunger last year and millions of people in various African countries are in danger of starving to death.

But Africa's distress is much greater than the famine or its economic regression. It doesn't help to give only money and food to Africa. Instead of trying to find a way out itself, this could dampen initiative in the long run and create defenselessness and an unhealthy dependence on other countries.

Africa's biggest stumbling block probably is ignorance, especially about modern agricultural methods, technical development and business know-how. And in those areas South Africa has valuable means, knowledge of Africa's circumstances, and expertise sorely needed by the continent.

Not only has South Africa immediately furnished help in the past when a neighboring state was hit by a catastrophe, but African countries are continuously asking for help behind the scenes and are being helped.

South Africa's absence at the conference is black Africa's loss.

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CSO: 3401/139

SOUTH AFRICA

**MARAIS URGES STRONGER ACTION AGAINST RIOTERS**

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 7 Feb 85 p 1

[Text] An urgent appeal was made by the leader of the HNP [Herstigte Nasionale Party], Mr Jaap Marais, for the government to make an end to the continuous riot conditions in South Africa.

In a statement, the HNP leader accuses the government of demonstrating incapacity to take action against leftist elements, thus enabling rioters to achieve successes.

Mr Marais' statement comes against a background of growing concern among Whites that the government is not able to maintain the public order. This concern has increased since the recent series of riots in the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and near Kruispad [Crossroads] on the Cape Peninsula.

With respect to the recent arrests of UDF [United Democratic Front] leaders, Mr Marais said that was encouraging. "However, as a single action on the part of the police, that will not change the situation much if there is no continued action to get to the root of this riot-problem."

"The real problem," Mr Marais said, "is on the one hand the obvious incapability of the government to take effective and persistent action against leftist subversion. This is coupled to the growing kindness of the government toward even illegal leftist organizations.

"This attitude of the government has enabled the rioters to achieve successes and, through those, to create continually higher expectations. These are the conditions under which people expect an increase in disturbances, unless appropriate action is taken. That action must be aimed at paralyzing the organizations which currently organize and initiate the riots.

"The government has tolerated for too long," said Mr Marais, "racial disturbances caused by organizations and their leaders in schools and at work. Very strong action is now needed, and the whites are sick and tired of the senseless destruction being initiated and for which they are financially responsible.

"If the government doesn't act with a desire to bring the currently prevailing situation to an end, the country will be so destabilized that the government will not be able to restore order."

Mr Marais said that the current lack of public order is worse than ever before in the history of South Africa. "The situation which prevails now is much worse than at any previous time because riots and violence have actually taken on endemic proportions."

Mr Marais said that undoubtedly the current series of disturbances were deliberate.

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CSO: 3401/136

SOUTH AFRICA

## CONSTRUCTION THREATENED BY STATE'S IN-HOUSE WORK

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 17 Mar 85 p 3

[Article by Alec Hogg]

[Text]

THE construction industry, hammered by recession, faces another threat — burgeoning Government construction.

The civil-engineering sector, which employed 130 000 people in the 1981 boom, has jobs for only 90 000 today.

Matters will get worse as the State undertakes more of its own contracts. This year the private sector's slice of the State capital spending cake has dropped by 15%.

### Conflict

In conflict with the official-free enterprise policy, Government departments and provincial administrations are expanding their construction activities.

Biggest culprits are the Department of Water Affairs, provincial administrations and municipalities. Exceptions are SA Transport Services and national roads.

Civil engineers are annoyed that the Transvaal Provincial Administration has spent R10-million on imported construction machinery.

Werner Aab, chairman of Concor and an executive on the SA Federation of Civil Engineering Contractors, told Business Times yesterday: "This is entirely wrong.

"State bodies' in-house construction arms have grown sharply in recent years and now take R1 000-million of business from the private sector.

### Growing

"The State undertakes 40% of all Government fixed-investment work and the figure is growing."

A major problem is that State departments' accounting systems make it easy to convince cabinet ministers that keeping the business in-house is cheaper than contracting it out.

"Plant and machinery are voted for and no allowance is made for financing costs, an important factor to any private-sector operation, particularly because of record interest rates.

### More costly

"In addition, supervisors may be paid through another account and their cost not be brought into account on specific projects.

"If these factors are included, it can be proved that doing the work in-house is effectively much more expensive than putting it out to tender.

"To us, time is money. In the public sector, construction units often try to keep projects going for as long as

possible to justify their existence. The shorter the period of a contract, the cheaper it is."

Mr Aab says the government is buying equipment unnecessarily. "There is a large surplus of machinery in the industry. Plant-hire companies are falling like flies.

"It is irresponsible for State bodies to buy plant, most of it imported, when it could support SA companies. Imported plant not only costs foreign currency, but it creates no new jobs.

"Most of these State bodies have too much plant and machinery. You often see sites where two or three machines are standing idle 'just in case'. Private-sector engineers could never afford this."

### Competitive

Mr Aab does not recommend immediate closure of State construction divisions and retrenchments.

"A start must be made somewhere. State bodies should be forced to stop buying plant. The empires some public servants have built will run down.

"The civil-engineering sector is highly competitive. But with the State taking an ever increasing slice of the business, all but the biggest companies could be squeezed out of the market."

CSO: 3400/908

SOUTH AFRICA

COSTS OF PARLIAMENTARY ADDITIONS, RENOVATION REPORTED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 21 Mar 85 p 1

[Article by Chris Freimond]

[Text]

**PARLIAMENT.**

**NEW buildings and renovations needed for the new parliamentary system have saddled taxpayers with a bill for R53 732 000.**

It includes R3 350 000 to refurbish Tuynhuys, the new Cape Town headquarters of the State President, Mr P W Botha.

Ironically, it was at Tuynhuys last month that Mr Botha gave details to a Press conference of cuts in civil service bonuses and other austerity measures aimed at curbing Government spending.

Details of the costs of new buildings and renovations were disclosed in Parliament over the past three weeks by the Minister of Public Works, Dr Lapa Munnik, in reply to questions by opposition MPs.

They included:

- R23 000 000 for extensions to Parliament to accommodate MPs, officials, committee rooms and new debating chambers;
- R10 376 000 for an underground parking garage topped by a ceremonial

garden on Stalplein outside Tuynhuys;

- R8 926 000 for houses for coloured and Indian MPs and for members of the Indian Minister's Council;
- R4 380 000 for alterations and structural changes to Marks Building, across the road from Parliament, which houses the (Indian) House of Delegates, members of the Indian Minister's Council, MPs and officials; and
- R3 700 000 for renovations to the building housing the new debating chamber and offices for the President's Council.

The R3 350 000 for Tuynhuys included R750 000 for "essential security installations" and R500 000 for the enlargement of a banqueting hall.

It is understood that five new ministerial houses are being built in Cape Town for members of the coloured Minister's Council.

It has also been reported that renovations at the Union Buildings in Pretoria have cost R11-million.

Other costs related to the new constitutional system include luxury motor cars for 10 additional Ministers and Deputy Ministers for the three racially separate chambers, plus personal staff for the Ministers.

Dr Willie Snyman, the Conservative Party MP for

Pietersburg who questioned Dr Munnik on the costs last month, said: "In the light of the current economic stringency, I find it outrageous that the Government proceeds with this unnecessary expenditure.

"Another R11-million being spent on the Union Buildings only adds insult to injury."

The Progressive Federal Party's spokesman on Public Works, Mr Graham McIntosh, said that although facilities in and around Parliament needed some money spent on them, it was "a public disgrace" that so much money was being wasted on separate and apparently equal facilities, houses, expensive chauffeur-driven imported motor cars and other fringe benefits for Ministers, President's Councillors and MPs.

"This cost is nothing more nor less than the cost of apartheid," he said.

The PFP MP for Houghton, Mrs Helen Suzman, who questioned Dr Munnik on the refurbishing of Tuynhuys, said the cost seemed to be out of place in the current economic climate.

"I think the taxpayers of South Africa should take careful note of the extravagant way in which their money is being spent," she said.

CSO: 3400/908

SOUTH AFRICA

SHIFT FROM DISINVESTMENT TO QUALIFIED SANCTIONS EXPLAINED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 17 Mar 85 p 16

[Article by Willie Esterhuyse: "The One Really Good Thing To Come Out of Disinvestment"]

[Text]

SINCE November 21, when the demonstrations at our Washington embassy started, South Africa has been in the American spotlight as never before.

Several factors have played, and are still playing, a role in sustaining this interest.

● President's Reagan's landslide victory over the Democrats and the frustration of his opponents.

● Constructive engagement and SA's internal politics have become the weapons with which those frustrated by his victory try to harry him into a political corner.

● The arrest of union leaders last year and the continuing unrest in black communities.

● Bishop Tutu's high profile visit to the States and the extensive publicity given to his views.

● Forced removals, resettlement schemes and actions taken against squatters.

All this has given momentum to the drive for disinvestment. Among some influential anti-South African lobbyists there has been an important recent shift in emphasis — from disinvestment to qualified sanctions.

## Obvious

The strategy behind this shift is obvious. If some of the elements of the proposals for qualified sanctions are accepted, the next step will be to add to the list.

A strong drive in favour of qualified sanctions would moreover compel moderates to opt for a compromise.

In our evaluation of the campaign for qualified sanctions it is important to keep in mind that the American process of decision-making is profoundly influenced by public opinion in general and by lobbying in particular.

Those protesting against SA and campaigning for disinvestment do have lobbying power and should not be discarded as a bunch of uninformed radicals.

If we put any value on a good and solid relationship with the Reagan Administration, care should be taken not to provide unnecessary ammunition to those in the anti-South African firing squad.

It should be obvious that a discrediting of constructive engagement by South African officials will of necessity provide our antagonists with "proof" that the Reagan Administration is on the wrong track.

Admittedly, to the South African authorities this fact poses a rather sensitive problem.

On the one hand, SA cannot allow the impression that she is the victim of American interests and is dictated to by the Reagan Administration.

On the other hand, we cannot allow ourselves the luxury of defiantly turning a cold shoulder on constructive engagement, claiming that it is of no concern to us.

What is needed is delicate diplomatic shuffle on both sides of the Atlantic, and a good understanding of each other's positions.

It is furthermore important to note that those demonstrating against SA try to project themselves as the only force which can affect developments in this country.

Their strategy is obvious. If they succeed in projecting this image they will also succeed in eroding the credibility of constructive engagement and the claims of American companies that they have had a positive bearing on developments in SA.

## Problem

For this reason, disinvestment and qualified sanctions are presented as alternatives to constructive engagement.

This fact presents South African authorities with yet another delicate problem — if, of course, American public opinion is of any concern to us.

This relates to the nature and timing of initiatives. The impression should not be created that South African initiatives are the result of the demands of demonstrators or disinvestment pressures.

This will be detrimental to the cause of reform and will inevitably lead to more pressure, demonstrations and confrontation.

The coming debate in Congress on the disinvestment issue will be seized upon the demonstrators to further their cause.

Events in SA will be closely examined in the hope that they will add fuel to the anti-South African fires.

Positive news, such as the repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act, will not win any applause from these quarters. Their moral consciences thrive on unrest in black townships, boycotts, forced removals and harsh police action.

Nothing pleases them more.

The antics of the moralists should not distract our attention from the fact that American public opinion stems from a political culture deeply rooted in emotionally cherished ideas on human rights and individual liberties.

## Resentment

It is therefore understandable why apartheid in general and actions like forced removals, resettlements, influx control and the arrests of union leaders in particular generate such strong emotions, resentment and opposition.

As a matter of fact, the nature of the American political culture explains why South Africa receives the attention it gets.

SA is accepted as a part of the Western world, its heritage and its values, but is seen to be out of step with the rest of the West.

While events in other parts of Africa are treated with a measure of tolerance, similar events in our country are judged in terms of Western standards.

This should not surprise us for we publicly claim to be caretakers of Christian and Western standards. And we are judged in terms of what we profess to be.

To constructively influence American public opinion towards a more balanced view of our country is not going to be easy. The anti-South African forces in the States always seem to be a few steps ahead of our attempts to project an improved image.

The positive effects of reform initiatives on American public opinion are quickly neutralised by focusing public attention on those issues not addressed by reform.

If the Mixed Marriages Act and Article 16 of the Immorality Act are repealed, such matters as the Group Areas Act, influx control and the political rights of blacks will be highlighted.

This kind of strategy has on more than once occasion been bolstered by, among others:

● Our inability to generate

an acceptance of reform initiatives among blacks, coloureds and Asians.

● The continuing unrest in black townships, boycotts by children and students, and police action. The fact that they coincide with reform initiatives and create the impression that the country is becoming more and more ungovernable, undermines the credibility of reform in the American public's mind.

● The perception that we lack a well-conceived plan of reform.

speech at the opening of Parliament.

These elements — property rights for blacks, the issue of citizenship, political rights and the composition and powers of the Black Forum — should, according to them, be presented as a package deal, thus getting maximum publicity.

It should also be highlighted by clear-cut policy statements on such matters as black urbanisation, influx control, removals and resettlements.

## Goodwill

In spite of these negative factors, a largely-untapped reservoir of goodwill towards SA does exist in the US. In a certain sense the issue of disinvestment was the best thing that could have happened as far as SA's interests were concerned.

It forced those who have a balanced and sincere interest in SA's future to make a public stand, organising themselves into an effective lobby.

It also created a much greater willingness than in the past to seek information on our country and to listen to alternative views.

The emotionalism of the anti-South African forces has had the effect that many Americans are now asking themselves whether SA really has the ugly face the demonstrators try to project.

Admittedly, much will depend on how South Africa, in its drive for recognition, capitalises on the new opportunities.

Our sincere American friends believe that South Africa can influence American opinion quite dramatically in the coming months by putting flesh on some elements of the President's

## Mandela

Some of our American friends believe that the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and a legalising of the ANC as a political movement would pull the rug from under the demonstrators and put them on the defensive.

This suggestion however is not regarded as feasible at this stage, given the ANC's official policy of violent action.

Terrorist activities during the past decade in some parts of the Western world and the security measures which have become part of the daily lives of Americans, have created strong feelings against violence.

President Botha's initiative in this respect is regarded as the most feasible approach at this stage.

USA-SA relations have entered a crucial phase. The future of this relationship will inevitably be determined by issues like Namibia, the Nkomati Accord and some other regional problems.

It will also be determined by the direction in which our reform processes develop, especially as far as the political rights of blacks are concerned.

SOUTH AFRICA

GOVERNMENT URGES SPENDING CUTS, PRIVATE SECTOR HESITATES

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 7 Mar 85 p 10

[Report by our economic editorial staff: "Salaries, Bonuses: Private Sector Still Uncertain"]

[Text] The private sector was still very uncertain yesterday about the state of its salaries and especially bonuses for the rest of this year. It is being questioned by various parties whether the private sector can indeed make further sacrifices in that context.

Mr Pierre Steyn, the designate executive director of SANLAM [South African National Life Assurance Company], told DIE BURGER that decisions still have to be made in that context.

Uncertainty also prevails as to what will happen to thirteenth checks [extra month] and bonuses, but currently there are certain categories in which the public sector is ahead and which will be taken into consideration in the future.

SANLAM will definitely follow the example of the government and keep wage increases low this year, he said.

Mr Tom Morse, personnel director of Ou Mutual, said that although his company supports the fight against inflation, in determining wages it must also take into account the position of its own personnel as well as the prevailing situation in the labor market.

Mr Brian MacLeod, director of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, said that the feeling of members of his organization is that the private sector already has had to make many sacrifices and that expecting additional sacrifices is asking too much.

The public sector is causing a stir because it is losing only part of its bonuses, whereas many workers in the private sector cannot expect anything.

It must be borne in mind that the private sector can pay bonuses only if the company has prospered in the year in question, and that is unlikely in the current economic climate.

Workers in the public sector currently are in the fortunate position that they cannot lose their job without cause, whereas in the private sector every month about 8,000 workers lose their jobs.

"The private sector can do no more than what it is doing now. In my opinion, bonuses should be eliminated completely in the public sector this year," Mr MacLeod said.

A spokesman for Anglo American said yesterday that the situation is being watched closely, but that it is not possible at this stage to announce any decisions, if there are any, in this context.

Any steps which can be made to improve the economic position will be considered.

[in box]

The committee of the Association of University Lecturers have noted "with great regret" the cut in the wage package of civil servants in the public sector.

According to the committee, the effect of the decrease on university personnel is very serious because the state subsidy to universities has already been cut by almost 13 percent, SAPA reports from Johannesburg.

8700  
CSO: 3401/138

SOUTH AFRICA

SECRET DOCUMENT ON INTEGRATION OF GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

Pretoria DIE AFRIKANER in Afrikaans 20 Feb 85 p 1

[Text] South Africa stands at the threshold of a fully multiracial civil service. The cabinet has decided that not only must Coloreds, Indians and blacks be employed in general affairs departments, but also that non-whites will be able to fill posts in departments that handle whites-only matters.

A highly confidential document from the commission for administration, in which guidelines for employment are given, has just come into the possession of DIE AFRIKANER.

The document, entitled "Employment and utilization of the various population groups in the civil service under the new political dispensation," was sent, about the middle of last month, to the several administrations. It contains complete instructions for the implementation of a fully integrated civil service for South Africa.

The fact that the guidelines come directly from the cabinet is evident from the very first paragraph: "The cabinet has set down, at the recommendation of the commission (for administration) revised policy guidelines pertaining to the employment and utilization of personnel in the civil service, for implementation by administrators and department heads."

The commission points out that "under the new political dispensation there will still be a single central civil service in the Republic of South Africa." All "subjective favoritism and discrimination" must be eliminated from personnel administration. "Insofar as general affairs departments are concerned, staffing will be made from the ranks of whites, Indians and Coloreds, and in certain circumstances, from those of blacks as well."

All population groups will henceforth have equal opportunity to aspire to appointments and promotion within general affairs departments. Accordingly, job appointments have no direct connection with any population group, states the document in question.

According to the guidelines of the commission, blacks may be appointed to jobs in general affairs departments "if the specific service and manpower situation warrants it." The conditions required for such appointments are adherence to

the principles of merit and efficiency and avoidance of competition with the civil service of the black nations.

"Blacks who are in fact hired," states the document, "are employed either as officials or workers, on the basis of whatever legal and other prescriptions regulate such appointments, and race plays no role in the matter. If a black is appointed as an official in some post, such a post is considered duly filled for all purposes. Those involved may also present themselves as candidates for promotions or transfers to other posts."

Provincial administrations will also be increasingly multiracial. "As far as provincial administrations are concerned, close attention must now be given to the reassignment of the positions in question, in the light of the evolving new political system. Until this process is completed, the positions that are clearly set up to satisfy the requirements of specific population groups must, insofar as it is practically possible, continue to be staffed by members of that population group. The staffing of positions that are not clearly set up with a specific population group in mind, in other words, those positions that satisfy general needs, must be approached in the same way as in the case of the general affairs departments.

The appointment of more and more non-whites to civil service jobs will undoubtedly lead to serious unrest among white civil servants. The latter will probably give utterance to their dissatisfaction through the spokesmanship of the influential Association of State Employees (VSA). In the past it was always the contention of the VSA that non-whites could not be appointed to white job situations in the civil service, although numbers of white civil servants even today fill black situations. These positions must first be filled by blacks before consideration may be given to the appointment of non-white civil servants, the VSA explained.

With the implementation of the new constitution, the VSA has changed its position, however, and now it maintains that the appointment of non-Whites in the civil service is a "political" matter. The VSA has already stated, however, that opportunities for promoting white civil servants are not to be put on the back burner. The above-mentioned appointment of large numbers of non-white civil servants will, however, inevitably entail a decrease in the promotion opportunities for white civil servants.

8117  
CSO: 3401/140

SOUTH AFRICA

CROSSROADS' COST TO TAXPAYERS

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 28 Feb 85 p 3

[Text] Every month Crossroads costs the taxpayer nearly 40,000 rands, simply to reimburse the Cape Town municipal council for water consumption and the departmental council for trash removal, according to information furnished to DIE BURGER.

All told, Crossroads squatters should be paying 91,000 rands per month in service charges to the development council, but in January only 951 rands was paid by a number of old, reliable squatters. The others refuse to contribute anything, and they live there free of charge. They refuse to pay a cent for water or trash removal into the bargain.

Mr J.H. Steyn, chief executive officer of the Urban Foundation, in a statement he made to SAPA yesterday, said that he welcomes the possibility that the squatters' camp called Crossroads may possibly be redeveloped and become a residential district.

"Still, the Foundation has always been opposed to compulsory resettlement as a solution, and has instead recommended upgrading as an alternative," he said.

The Foundation accepts the necessity of resettling some of Crossroads' inhabitants so that a thorough upgrading program may become possible.

He expresses the hope that this will come about through direct negotiations between Dr Gerrit Viljoen, minister of cooperation, development and education, and the Crossroads community.

Meanwhile, Mr Samuel Langa, spokesperson for the Crossroads Committee, said that he wants "written assurances" from the government before reacting to the plans for the squatters' camp that have been laid before the parliament by Dr Viljoen.

This situation has already lasted for a long time, Mr Sampie Steenkamp, the public relations officer for the West Cape development council, told DIE BURGER.

The extent of the damage caused by the rioting has not yet been determined, because the insurance agency is still calculating it.

### Beer Hall

Three vehicles were completely burned, however, and three more were badly damaged.

A beer hall was also badly damaged by a fire. "The damage may amount to many thousands of rands," said Mr Steenkamp.

According to Mr Steenkamp, there are now more than 100,000 squatters living under hand-to-mouth conditions in Crossroads. All told, there are 13,000 slum dwellings, and each one should be paying seven rands a month in service charges.

### Trash

In January, however, only 951 rands was received from the squatters, which means that notwithstanding the number of people in these 13,000 shacks, only 136 service charges were paid.

Service charges are paid every quarter to the municipal council and the departmental council. For the quarter that included October, November and December 43,730 rands was paid to the municipal council for water, and during the same period of time 75,458 rands was paid to the departmental council for the removal of trash and night-soil.

This means that an average of 39,729.33 rands a month was spent on services, whereas only 951 rands was received.

8117  
CSO: 3401/140

SOUTH AFRICA

ANTI-APARTHEID BODIES LEAD IN DEFENCE AGAINST DISINVESTMENT

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 17 Mar 85 p 3

[Article by David Breier]

[Text]

THE SOUTH African Government has been forced to take a back seat while anti-apartheid bodies lead the country's defence against the international disinvestment campaign.

International affairs analysts point out that the government itself can do comparatively little to thwart the disinvestment campaign because anything it says is tainted by its own policies which gave rise to the disinvestment campaign in the first place.

Even though the Department of Foreign Affairs has set up a special campaign against disinvestment, it has been up to South African agencies which oppose the government's segregation policy, to put the most persuasive cases against disinvestment.

These include the Urban Foundation and South Africa's most powerful business interests which met British and American counterparts at Leeds Castle near London recently.

### **Slabbert**

A meeting of top-level directors was far more likely to persuade overseas companies to remain in South Africa than any campaign by the Department of Foreign Affairs, sources involved with the meeting said this week.

Other examples of anti-apartheid personalities pleading South Africa's case overseas include the visit by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of kwaZulu to the United States.

Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, the Progressive Federal Party leader, presented the case against disinvestment at a debate of the Oxford Union where he opposed the motion that all links with South Africa should end immediately.

The motion was carried by the narrow majority of 205 votes to 193. The margin might have been far greater had an official government spokesman spoken against the motion.

Dr Slabbert said in an interview on his return this week that any government spokesman had "an impossible commodity to sell".

"Those who oppose apartheid have much more credibility than those who have to implement government policy and sell reform at the same time," he added.

### **Le Grange**

Any argument against disinvestment was countered by the way the government applied security legislation, he said.

"Mr Louis le Grange (the Minister of Law and Order) seems to be oblivious to the impact that his words and actions have on outside attitudes to South Africa."

An influential foreign affairs analyst who asked not to be identified, suggested that South Africa's greatest liability in the disinvestment campaign was Mr le Grange and his department which seemed to be more hawkish than the rest of the government.

It was the arrests of United Democratic Front leaders and the killing of 18 people at Crossroads that gave new impetus to the disinvestment campaign, he pointed out.

Professor John Barratt, Director General of the SA Institute of International Affairs, said the actions of non-government agencies showed South Africa was not a monolithic country as was perceived overseas.

He said the issue "out front" was human rights and the rule of law. South Africa could not escape reports that, for example, there were more than 163 000 pass arrests last year, he said.

CSO: 3400/890

SOUTH AFRICA

CHURCH BODY CALLS FOR END TO APARTHEID

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 29 Mar 85 p 13

[Text]

UMTATA. — The Transkei Council of Churches has called on the South African State President, Mr P W Botha, and the Government, to dismantle apartheid "as a matter of urgency".

In an open letter to Mr Botha, approved in a resolution at the council's annual general meeting in Umtata this week, Mr Botha was asked: "How many people should die before the State President and his Government realise the folly of apartheid?

"We call on the State President and his Government to abandon all super-imposed apartheid-dictated solutions to the country's problems, and to involve authentic—not Government-chosen—leaders of the Blacks in the search for peace, justice and freedom for our country," the letter said.

It also criticised the manner in which the South African Government handled the Uitenhage unrest and other similar situations and the manner in which US President Reagan commented on the Uitenhage incident.

"The manner clearly demonstrates the commitment of the State to the defence of the indefensible and abhorrent system of apartheid which is the direct cause of all the anger, frustration and violence in our society," it said.

"The annual general meeting was equally shocked to learn the attitude of the President of the United States, Mr Ronald Reagan, as revealed in his reported statements which condones the brutal killing of defenceless people." — Sapa.

CSO: 3400/890

SOUTH AFRICA

EXPENSE OF MAINTAINING APARTHEID 'STAGGERING'

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 16 Mar 85 p 3

[Article by Gerald Reilly]

[Text]

THE cost to the South African taxpayer of the country's vast apartheid bureaucratic machine increased by a staggering 229% between 1978 and the end of last year.

And, between December 1983 and December last year the State's salary bill mushroomed by nearly R1 000-million to R3 737 572 000.

Soon after taking office as Prime Minister in September 1978, Mr P W Botha promised a leaner and more efficient public service.

Observers say whether the service has become more efficient is an open question, but certainly it has grown progressively fatter, and vastly more expensive in the past six years.

The number of State departments were slashed from more than 40 to 21 as one of the moves to eliminate overlapping and duplication and raise efficiency.

However, this failed to slow down the dynamic increase in personnel in departments.

In 1978, it cost the country R1 136 928 000 to pay

301 889 Central Government workers.

By last year the cost had exploded by 229% to a massive R3 737 572 000.

And, by the end of 1984, the number of Central Government employees had increased by nearly 100 000 to 400 423 — and increase of 32,64%.

The biggest single increase in the salary bill was in 1984.

It was geared to make the service more competitive with the private sector.

Towards the end of last year it was announced that salaries in the public service would be frozen during the 1985/86 financial year.

At the time, the Public Servants' Association accepted the freeze provided it did not again mean an opening of the gap between pay in the service and the private sector.

According to the Central Statistical Service's figures "sundry statutory bodies" employed 23 508 in December, 1978, and paid them R113 592 000 for the year.

By 1984 there were 30 059 parastatal employees who earned R427 922 000 in that year.

CSO: 3400/908

SOUTH AFRICA

COSAS SETS DEADLINE FOR DEMANDS

Johannesburg THE SOWETAN in English 29 Mar 85 p 20

[Article by Ali Mphaki]

[Text]

**APRIL 30 has been set as the deadline for the Department of Education and Training to meet the students demands.**

The Congress of South African Students (Cosas) yesterday said that the students had made their demands "quite loud and clear". Parents committees have also negotiated, but the Department had continued to "fool" them by continuously applying delaying tactics.

"The Government is not prepared to recognise and respond to the legitimate demands of the students. Instead, they detain students, and close schools.

"Finally, Cosas calls upon the DET to respond to our demands and we have set up the ultimatum that on April 30 our demands must be met," the statement said.

Meanwhile the organisation has also condemned the decision by the Government to ban all meetings discussing education matters.

Cosas said: "We view the State's response as an attempt to stop any fundamental change to the crisis in education in South Africa."

"This clearly proves that the State and the Department of Education and Training are stubborn and show an unwillingness to meet the students' legitimate demands and closing all possible methods to resolve the situation by negotiating through parents committees.

"Instead, they continue using repressive methods against the students' demands. This cowardice comes at a time when the Government is losing control and resorts to violence, closing down schools, harrassment, etc.", the statement said.

CSO: 3400/890

SOUTH AFRICA

## PRIVATE SECTOR INVOLVEMENT IN MOZAMBIQUE RISING

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 23 Mar 85 p 4

[Text]

SOUTH African private sector involvement in Mozambique since the signing of the Nkomati Accord in March last year is increasing and any attempts to denounce the success of the peace initiative are invalid.

This was said by the director of Mosatur Limitada (Pty) Ltd, Mr Johnny Henn, who established the company three months ago in conjunction with the Mozambican Government to promote the Inhaca Islands.

Speaking at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Mr Henn, who is also chairman of the Lowveld Liaison Committee and the Regional Advisory Committee for the Eastern Transvaal, said an umbrella body, Rep Mosa, had been established in December last year to negotiate any business venture between South Africa and Mozambique.

### Tourism

Already four companies — three promoting tourism and one organising imports and exports — have been established.

"Any efforts to denounce the success of Nkomati are invalid," Mr Henn stressed. "The communication, comfortable working arrangement and joint ventures with the Mozambican Government are proof enough."

Asked what steps had been taken to guarantee the investments of South African businessmen in operations in Mozambique, Mr Henn said the Mozambican Government had passed legislation protecting these investments, and had offered various other benefits — such as tax concessions — as well.

He said economic stability in Mozambique, a prerequisite for stability and peace in the region, would only come with outside investment and involvement.

He warned of the dangers of ignoring the potential interaction between the two countries — possible loss of life and certain instability on South Africa's eastern border.

### Stability

In addition, Mr Henn said the private sector had a vital role to play in Mozambique "so our children will not bear the consequences of their parents short-sighted ambitions to make money, rather than invest in the long term for stability, co-operation and progress in the South Africa, of which we are all part."

Mr Henn's company, Mosatur Limitada, aims at promoting the Inhaca Islands which he said was "a paradise that had been physically dead for South Africans since 1974".

The second company, Mosa Marinha, was formed to provide access for ski-boat anglers to some of the finest fishing grounds on the Mozambican shoreline. Its director is Mr Peter Rademan.

An aviation company, Matavia Airlines, operating between Nelspruit and various parts of Mozambique, fills the gaps between the South African Airlines services and the official Mozambican airline, LAM, the director of the airline, Mr Peter Farquhar said.

CSO: 3400/875

SOUTH AFRICA

BPP MEMBERS WIN PTA BY-ELECTIONS

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 22 Mar 85 p 2

[Text]

**TWO members of the Black Progressive Party in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, have won by-elections which were held in the township on Wednesday.**

The results were announced yesterday morning by the Commissioner of the Department of Co-operation and Development in Pretoria, Mr J W Killian who said a total of 905 people had voted in the two wards.

Mr Lucas Mosuma won by 491 votes against Mr Edwin Ntlaba of the Khudu Party who gathered 352 votes at ward 4. Mr Victor Zobane won by 32 votes against Mr Joseph Sibisi's 30 votes in ward one.

The by-election in ward 4 followed an order by a Pretoria Supreme Court last year who ruled that the elections held there on December 1983, were irregular. A number of voters who carried temporary identity documents were wrongfully turned away, the court ruled.

The by-election in ward one was a result of the resignation last year of the mayor, Mr Z Z Mashao, who cited family pressure as the reason.

Two of the recent candidates — Mr Zobane and Mr Ntlaba — had their houses petrol bombed recently by unknown persons in an apparent bid to stop them from participating in the by-elections.

CSO: 3400/876

SOUTH AFRICA

DECENTRALIZATION BILL FOR SOUTH AFRICA SOARS

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES, Business Times in English 17 Mar 85 p 9

[Article by Amrit Manga]

[Text]

**THE South African Government will have to finance more than 1 600 industries which are expected to qualify for decentralisation benefits in 1984-85.**

Although the figures have not been released, the chairman of the Decentralisation Board, Dougie de Beer, says the number of successful companies will exceed 150% of the 1983-84 total.

The board's financial year has not ended and its report is expected to be tabled in Parliament in May.

### Foreigners

Most applications have come from industries already in decentralised regions.

Mr de Beer says the board's report for 1984-85 year will reflect a surprising number of new foreign applications. Only 18% of applications are from industrialists in urban areas.

Industrial decentralisation has not been without problems.

Wessels van Wyk, Ciskei's director of communication, says: "Neither the Ciskei nor

South Africa will be able to finance decentralisation in the next few years if the current rate of growth continues."

The South African Government paid nearly R307-million in decentralisation benefits from February 1984 to January 1985. The projected figure for 1985-86 is more than R500-million. The figure excludes payment by the SA Government of 50% of decentralisation costs incurred in the independent homelands (TBVC areas).

### Incentives

Industrialists in the Ciskei received R34-million in concessions in 1983-84. Mr van Wyk says: "We paid out more than R40-million in 1984-85."

The amount is expected to increase to R90-million, of which R45-million will be met by the SA taxpayer.

The multi-million rand incentives have also attracted less profitable concerns which have cashed in on the benefits.

Researchers at the University of the Witwatersrand found that 79% of businesses would not have considered moving were it not for incentives. The researchers have

not yet found the reasons why 50% of applications approved by the decentralisation board failed to "take off".

Mr van Wyk says: "This is one of the reasons why Ciskei has shifted the emphasis from cash benefits to tax concessions, making decentralisation to the homeland viable for profitable concerns only."

### Subsidies

Handsome wage subsidies are also open to abuse. Mr van Wyk says the formula used to calculate subsidies allows companies to inflate the average wage, 95% of which is reimbursed by the homeland and the SA Government.

According to the Wits researchers, labour costs are said to be satisfactory by more than 90% of respondents in decentralised zones.

Mr van Wyk says: "A new formula has, however, been worked out to prevent abuse and will come into effect in April.

"The decentralisation package has also been responsible for lopsided development, favouring manufacturing industry and neglecting growth of commercial enterprises."

CSO: 3400/908

SOUTH AFRICA

MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER DISCUSSES REPRESSION

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 25 Feb 85 pp 112-113

[Interview with South African Minister Louis Le Grange; date and place not indicated]

[Text] Louis Le Grange, South Africa's "Minister for Law and Order, has been head of the police forces for almost 6 years. The 56-year-old giant, a member of the State Security Council, is one of the most powerful men on the Cape. Le Grange is responsible for arrests according to the security laws. He is considered a firebrand who time and again counters timid moves toward reform. White South Africans call the longtime champion of target shooting and successful rugby player "our Clark Gable."

[Text] [Question] Mr Minister, you hold South Africa's most unpopular government office. You decide on arrests, for instance, on the basis of the security laws. How many people did you have arrested last year?

[Answer] I hold a difficult office, but that does not worry me. As to arrests, one must distinguish between several sections of the law for internal security. Section 29, for example, makes possible arrests for interrogation, section 28 a type of internment. Last year, about 300 people were arrested under the provisions of the law.

[Question] In the countries of Ciskei, Venda, and Transkei, not recognized internationally, an additional 663 people are supposed to have been arrested.

[Answer] We have nothing to do with arrests there.

[Question] The world does not buy that. And even the conservative governments in Washington and Bonn criticize your many arrests.

[Answer] The arrested people have only to tell us what they know about offenses against state security. We need these preventive measures in order to maintain our internal security. Countries of the Western world have similar laws. The principle is neither new nor unusual.

[Question] But it is uncommon for a constitutional state to arrest people without having recourse to the courts of law, without ever being brought before a judge.

[Answer] Not at all. The person is not being arrested in order to be brought into court for a criminal offense. The arrest for a shorter or longer period only serves interrogation.

[Question] More unsolved deaths of prisoners in custody have occurred in South Africa than in any other Western country.

[Answer] A few years ago. But now we try to make the prisoner as comfortable as possible; we try not to house them together with other criminals in police or jail cells.

[Question] As comfortable as possible? In reality, South Africa does not distinguish between criminal and political offenders.

[Answer] I assure you that we are doing everything to detain these people under humane conditions.

[Question] The arrests of trade unionists were criticized by the three largest federations of industries. Disturbances in the labor field, they say, have increased rather than decreased due to police interference.

[Answer] I have had a talk with the federations. I asked them: why, for heaven's sake, do you criticize the government which sees to it that the business world, industry and commerce can carry on under normal circumstances?

[Question] Some enterprises seem to see it differently. And the Catholic bishops' conference describes in a report how brutally your forces of order proceeded during disturbances against demonstrators and prisoners in black residential districts. Have you had this report examined?

[Answer] Yes. And I hope to be able to read soon a comment by my people. The bishops' report did receive our attention.

[Question] The relative balance of police measures seems no longer ensured.

[Answer] Our police forces have strict orders to act within the framework of the law and their standing instructions. But, of course, this is difficult during riots when a policeman has to decide in a fraction of a second, and while running. I do not reprimand any policeman who under such circumstances comes to a decision different from what I might have liked, or different from what the law prescribes. But in general, the South African police try to do their best. Our motto is: *Servamus et servimus*--we protect and serve.

[Question] Your service costs many human lives. You yourself have admitted that in October and November 130 people died during the riots in Transvaal province, 96 of them through police actions. Since then, there have been more and more dead. In any European country this would be a national tragedy.

[Answer] I do not want to compare our situation with that of Germany or any other European state, since the circumstances there and the composition of the population are totally different. We have a population consisting of different groups. Of course we are sorry about every human life that must be lost. During recent years we have studied every method to quell riots without losing human lives.

[Question] Could you explain that, please?

[Answer] We have sent some of our top officials abroad...

[Question] To which countries?

[Answer] We should not mention the countries' names--our officials studied techniques of coping with riots in the Western world, various weapons, ammunition, and equipment such as the "sneezing machine"\*, rubber bullets and whatever else there is. They inspected the masks, nightsticks and shields used there.

[Question] Why do the South African police, which in most cases only have to deal with rock-throwing youngsters, not use transparent protective shields? Why immediately use tear gas, why live bullets and whips of hard rubber, called "Sjamboks?"

[Answer] We have replaced the "Sjamboks" with lighter "Sjambokkies." And people who have been beaten by the police, seldom complain about those. Being hit with it does not really hurt, but the "Sjambokkie" causes a kind of sting. After that, the person concerned no longer tangles with a policeman.

[Question] What about the shields?

[Answer] We use them in inner cities. But the shields are no good in open terrain, the men there find them only a hindrance.

[Question] Last year you used soldiers during riots in the Vaal Triangle, the industrial area south of Johannesburg. Are your police forces no longer adequate?

[Answer] Compared to other countries, we have very few police. At present, it is 1.9 policemen per 1,000 inhabitants. In West Germany the ratio is 2.5, in England 3.4, and in Russia even 10 policemen..

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\* An "air cannon" mounted on the bed of a police vehicle, which blows irritants into the crowd.

[Question] So that with larger disturbances, strength can be demonstrated only with the help of the Army?

[Answer] This is not even necessary with normal civilians. These black people are also South Africans. We did not want to frighten them. They trust our security forces. But in the Vaal Triangle we had an unnatural disturbance situation. We wanted to give the people the chance to live normally again. We helped them to get their children back to school.

[Question] You combed the area for "Communist agitators," but most of the victims of the massive raid were petty thieves.

[Answer] Nonetheless, the action was worthwhile. As soon as disturbances begin, rowdies and idlers appear. They burn down liquor stores, plunder shops. We showed them and others that we are capable of maintaining law and order.

[Question] The massive raid in the Vaal Triangle reminded Allan Boesak, president of the Reformed World Federation of Capstadt, of the beginning of a civil war.

[Answer] Pastor Boesak and some of his friends prefer to use extravagant language--unfortunately.

[Question] The acts of violence in South Africa's non-white residential areas do not stop. It is not a question of "rowdies"; rather, there exists deep-seated political and social dissatisfaction among the blacks--and Nobel prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu of Johannesburg sees it the same way.

[Answer] Bishop Tutu unfortunately also uses this exaggerated language. It is high time for Bishop Tutu and his friends to realize that their language and their statements about South Africa in many regards are contradicted by facts.

[Question] By which ones? Perhaps the Minister of Law and Order has different facts at his disposal than the clergymen, Tutu and Boesak?

[Answer] Let us deal with the question whether we have a revolutionary climate in South Africa...

[Question] Do you?

[Answer] My answer is: Quite certainly we have individuals and organizations in South Africa who are trying with all their might to produce a revolutionary climate. But we also know who they are; our enemies know that, too. And that doesn't make them too happy.

[Question] Why don't you name names--for example, what part do communists play in nationalist movements such as the outlawed African National Congress (ANC)?

[Answer] The South African Communist Party, which receives direct instructions from Moscow, is the very closest partner of the ANC. A number of prominent communists are also in the executive of ANC. The influence is very strong.

[Question] Recently one had the impression that your government is nonetheless willing to talk with the ANC.

[Answer] As long as ANC carries out sabotage, terror and murder with its militant wing, there is no possibility of a dialogue.

[Question] Perhaps the confrontation would lessen if you lifted the ban on ANC?

[Answer] The ANC would have to abjure violence. The policy of our government and of my party, the National Party, has always been based on encouraging political debate. People are to organize politically, and to rule themselves. Why should we withhold this right from any political organization?

[Question] Yet you are doing it! Recently, a black worker was arrested and sentenced to jail because he had ANC slogans on the mug which he used during his lunch break.

[Answer] We have no reason to make concessions to the militant wing of ANC.

[Question] A political slogan on a coffee mug...

[Answer] Whenever any person in South Africa propagates the interests and goals of ANC in an open breach of the law, the law takes its course. But there are also many examples where people wore the ANC colors at meetings and funerals. But we didn't storm in to persecute those people.

[Question] Yet ever more young black people are declaring war on your system.

[Answer] Some radical organizations, inspired by the Communist Party, the ANC and other groups abroad, want to destroy South Africa's democratic system and establish a Marxist-socialist system.

[Question] For the black majority, South Africa certainly does not look like a democracy. Yet on the other hand, you do not shy away from talking with Marxists, with neighboring states such as Mozambique and Angola.

[Answer] If Mozambique and Angola prefer this system, it is their own affair. In South Africa, we prefer democracy.

9917  
CSO: 3420/38

SOUTH AFRICA

BLACK APPOINTMENTS MARK HISTORIC STEP FORWARD

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 27 Mar 85 p 9

[Article by Brian Stuart]

[Text]

CAPE TOWN.—The appointment of three Black community leaders to the Co-ordinating Council, set up to advise the Government on new municipal structures, has marked the formal beginning of Black inclusion in decision-making at local government level.

"While on the one hand the Government will take appropriate steps against all elements who promote violence and lawlessness, it will also continue taking positive steps to improve the quality of life of the urban population and to provide participation in the political process," State President Mr P W Botha told the Co-ordinating Council for Local Government yesterday.

Mr Botha announced that the Government had given official recognition to the Urban Councils' Association of South Africa (UCASA) as the official mouthpiece of Black local authorities in South Africa.

Yesterday's meeting of the Co-ordinating Council was the first to include Black representatives.

The Black community leaders appointed to the council are Mr S Kgame of Dobsonville, Mr Z B Ndlazi of Mamelodi and Mr M J Khumalo of Meadowlands.

Mr Botha said the special Cabinet committee dealing with Black participation in decision-making had recommended that Black local authorities should be represented on the Co-ordinating Council.

He praised those who served as councillors in Black local authorities for making sacrifices for the good in their people. They did so in the face of criticism, antagonism and even harassment.

Stressing the urgent need to establish regional services councils, Mr Botha said that the necessary legislation would be introduced in Parliament after the Easter recess.

Immediately after the Bill was promulgated the Government intended to establish the first councils in the major metropolitan areas.

At a subsequent Press conference Mr Chris Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development, said the Administrators of the four provinces had been asked to identify those areas of the country where local authorities had failed to establish improved communication with local affairs committees and management committees.

Answering questions, Mr Heunis said the Co-ordinating Council would consider the establishment of municipal development boards, on which all groups would be represented, in the major urban areas of South Africa.

He told *The Citizen* that this would include Johannesburg, Bloemfontein, the Durban-Pietermaritzburg complex, Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage complex and Cape Town.

However, it was also thought necessary to establish development boards in rural areas where the demand for better communication and for such structures was perhaps even greater.

## New Council To Tackle Urban Unrest

CAPE TOWN. — The Government was fully aware that there were problems in urban Black communities which led to frustration, the State President, Mr P W Botha, said in Cape Town yesterday.

Speaking at the opening of the meeting of the Co-ordinating Council on local government, Mr Botha said the underlying reasons for unrest in the Black urban areas would have to receive the attention of the Co-ordinating Council.

"The Government is fully aware of and acknowledges that there are certain problems which lead to frustration in the urban Black communities. The elimination of these problems so as to provide better prospects for all and acceptable minimum living standards will depend on the successful functioning of Black authorities which in turn can be assisted by the establishment of regional services councils." — Sapa.

CSO: 3400/874

SOUTH AFRICA

OFFICIAL'S VIEW ON DISINVESTMENT CAMPAIGN, BLACKS' OPTIMISM

Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans 12 Mar 85 p 9

[Report on interview with Dr Marc Burger, senior official of the Department of Foreign Affairs: "Black Businessmen 'Optimistic"'; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Black businessmen in South Africa are more optimistic about the future than ever before--in spite of the economic climate and the pessimism in the white business world coupled to that.

That is the opinion of Dr Marc Burger, a senior official of the Department of Foreign Affairs, who coordinates the anti-disinvestment campaign. The campaign against investments in South Africa is mainly being conducted from the United States.

Observers ascribe that optimism primarily to the current federal and other political developments in South Africa.

"There is great opposition against the disinvestment campaign. If we stand together, we can certainly overcome that threat," he said in an interview with DIE BURGER.

Dr Burger was asked for commentary after recent statements against disinvestment by various leaders--including spokesmen from neighboring countries such as Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho.

On that problem a wider range of groups and leaders are probably in agreement than on any other, observants think.

Although he sees disinvestment as an "extremely serious threat," it will not be able to cause a decisive change in the area of South African politics.

Peaceful

"South Africa does not submit to pressure. We do what is right for us. The people of this country know better what should be done than do people on the outside."

Economic sanctions will undoubtedly be harmful to South Africa's ability to effect changes in a peaceful manner. The solutions which the country seeks cost money.

"Since we already do not have enough work opportunities for everyone and, moreover, we have to carry the burden of the hundreds of thousands of people from neighboring countries who come here to work, the loss of a job opportunity is a serious matter. A black person is the provider for five to six persons.

About 14 countries are "substantially or even critically" dependent on South Africa. "Just one example: If you buy a Krugerrand in New York for \$350 (728 Rands), \$49 (101.92 Rands) of that goes to the family of a mine worker from Lesotho, and altogether there are 104,000 of those workers in South Africa. Lesotho gets 51 percent of its gross national income from those workers."

#### Frustration

The disinvestment campaign--a strategy, and not a goal in itself--must be seen in the light of prevailing political tendencies in the United States.

After the most recent presidential election, many frustrations arose among black Americans who thought they had not achieved anything. The Democrats are defeated and divided. Moreover, their leader--the honorable Jesse Jackson, has not achieved anything whatsoever.

#### Lever

Those who conduct the campaign are largely groups who need a controversial issue in order to find a common denominator. As a result, South Africa has become something of a political football.

The disinvestment advocates cannot be seen as a sort of coalition in the sense of there being agreement on most issues. They cover a range from a few elements within the Republican Party on the one hand, as well as the majority of the democratic legislators, to pressure groups such as TransAfrica and, all the way to the left, the ANC and PAC.

They have two common denominators: Distaste for South Africa's domestic policy--or at least as it is seen by them--and the decision to utilize an economic lever.

It is important to differentiate between the motives for that step. Most of those groups are composed of people who say that economic measures are the "peaceful alternative" to violence.

Only a minority of radical elements thinks that a climate for revolution should be created.

**State Level**

"Most of the supporters of disinvestment, however, have never been able to make a case in favor of it. For example, they cannot answer questions such as: How do you increase your influence if you want to withdraw it, and on whose behalf are sanctions propagated?"

About 30 to 40 bills have already been submitted in the United States at the state level, and a great number are expected at the municipal level.

South Africa's side of the story is now being heard for the first time in the United States also. It has already had a limited effect on views on South Africa.

There is a danger that the American campaign will sooner or later be able to influence views in the business world of other countries, Dr Burger said.

8700  
CSO: 3401/138

SOUTH AFRICA

YOUNG CHURCH MEMBERS OPT FOR CHANGE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 26 Mar 85 p 10

[Text]

THE younger members of Afrikaans speaking churches were now clearly opting for change, Prof Essor Pieter de Villiers, the C B Powell professor for Biblical Scholarship at Unisa, said yesterday.

He made a powerful plea for dialogue — and said that at all times there should be "hope".

"Hope forces us to dialogue. Were people fail to understand how they violate the dignity of others they should never be isolated," he said.

It was true that South Africa was a country filled with suffering. This was proved by the tragic events of the past few days.

"Many people suffer with those families and those members of our community who lost relatives and friends.

"We, ourselves, suffer because we are part of society where other members are unequal, are often treated in an unjust manner and are subjected to many dehumanising laws," he said.

But there were many examples of how dialogue changed people — and he personally detected a change, particularly among the younger members of the Afrikaans churches.

"Dialogue changes — even though we sometimes become despondent."

CSO: 3400/877

SOUTH AFRICA

BLACK RESETTLEMENT FIGURES

Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English 6 Mar 85 p 4

[Text]

**NEARLY 23 000** black people were resettled last year in South Africa, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, said this week.

Dr Viljoen said 11 455 black people in the Cape had been resettled, 126 in Natal, 7 398 in the Orange Free State and 3 957 in the Transvaal.

He also revealed that 1 078 people living in two "black spots" in the District of Ventersdorp were resettled last year at Pachsdraai which is to be incorporated into Bophuthatswana.

Dr Viljoen gave this information in reply to PFP questions in the House.

He told Mr Ray Swart (PFP Berea) that 22 936 black people had been resettled in the four provinces.

In the Cape, they included people who had been resettled in the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana as well as people who had been moved from Port Elizabeth to Motherwell and from Crossroads to Khayelitsha.

In Natal, people were moved from seven different areas into KwaZulu and the Bulwer district.

In the Orange Free State, people had been moved to new residential

areas in Bothaville and Kroonstad, while in two cases, people had been moved to Botshabelo, which is also known as Onverwacht, from Allandridge and Luckhoff.

In the Transvaal, people were resettled into Venda, Kwandabene, Kangwane, Lebowa, Gauzankulu and Bophuthatswana.

People had also been resettled from Germiston, Soweto and Springs into the Transkei, from Springs into the Ciskei, and from Germiston, Brakpan, Heidelberg and Soweto into KwaZulu.

He told Mr Swart and Mr Graham McIntosh (PFP Pietermaritzburg North) that 1 078 people at Swartrand and Hartbeeslaagte in the Ventersdorp district had been resettled last year at Pachsdraai.

These people had been paid R1 222 942 compensation in 1983 and 1984. A further R5 690 639 had been spent on transport and development costs during the two years, Dr Viljoen said.

Dr Viljoen also told Mr Peter Soal (PFP Johannesburg North) that the people at Motlatla had agreed to move as soon as 800ha in compensatory land had been obtained.

CSO: 3400/877

SOUTH AFRICA

WINTER CRISIS FEAR IN BLACK VILLAGES

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 27 Mar 85 p 13

[Article by Janine Stein]

[Text]

A CRISIS situation in Black rural villages is expected during the coming winter months with a large majority of the residents unemployed, many of them young people who have not been able to find work after leaving school.

This is the opinion of Mrs Ina Perlman, executive director of Operation Hunger, which is currently feeding 600 000 people in the homelands. She was speaking at a new slide presentation "Operation Hunger — The Rural Crisis" in Johannesburg recently.

A Jewish welfare and religious organisation, the United Sisterhood, handed over a cheque of almost R9 000 to Operation

Hunger at the slide show and talk by Mrs Perlman.

Mrs Perlman said the critical situation was a result of factors such as the drought, increased influx control, mechanisation, and, most recently, the spread of urban retrenchments.

Speaking about a number of Venda villages she had recently visited, Mrs Perlman said that over 50 percent of the men were unemployed and funds from severance pay and unemployment insurance were running low.

There were also many youngsters in the 16 to 24-year-old age group who had never had a job and had no chance of finding one despite battling against enormous odds to achieve an education.

"Their bitterness and frustration were frightening to see," Mrs Perlman said.

Although some of the youths had approached her for advice, most had kept "sullenly" away. "I am afraid these boys are going to become major trouble-makers when the cold winter comes and times are really hard," she said.

Mrs Perlman appealed to the Government to institute a programme, such as the one in 1983, when R44-million was spent on job creation schemes when one person from each family was employed for a maximum of 22 days a month a R2 a day, enabling each family to earn R44 a month.

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SOUTH AFRICA

COMMENTARY ON VITAL NEED TO SAVE NKOMATI ACCORD

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 17 Mar 85 p 12

[Article by JHP Serfontein]

[Text]

**I**T IS JUST possible that the one-year-old historic Nkomati Accord between Mozambique and South Africa may still be saved — although it seems to be in tatters.

It is in the short and long term interests of both countries to keep it going and each has too much to lose if it finally collapses.

Yet there is little doubt that ultimately there is far more at stake for South Africa and in particular for the Afrikaner Government: its prestige, honour, international credibility and even its present new drive of domestic reforms.

At the time Nkomati was presented as a dramatic diplomatic coup which prepared the way for Mr PW Botha's triumphant visit to Europe.

Cynically, some Frelimo leaders told me that the collapse of Nkomati, or the withdrawal from it, would hardly make any difference to Mozambique at this stage "because today, after one year, we are in a far worse situation".

It is clear that the ball is entirely in South Africa's court. The onus is on her to make the Nkomati Accord work again. Some dramatic action, not merely gestures or statements, is now needed from Pretoria.

The crux of the problem is South Africa's failure to have taken sufficient concrete steps to crush Renamo (MNR) activities inside South Africa.

With pride the Frelimo Government points to the harsh measures it took against ANC leaders and officials in Maputo within weeks after Nkomati. It included house searches, detentions and

deportations of people with whom it had the closest personal friendship, and of an organisation of which it has been a closely ally for more than 20 years.

In a nutshell, Frelimo demands a similar quid pro quo, its pound of flesh. Its maximum demand is immediate and similar, publicly-announced actions against Renamo and its backers inside South Africa. Its minimum request would be that, whatever is done, Mozambique wanted to experience the lip service promise in the form of an immediate disappearance of Renamo activities close to the South African border.

This week commentators in pro-Government newspapers reflected anxiety and near panic about the consequences of a collapse of the accord.

Beeld's columnist Dr Piet Muller urged that South Africa should take some tangible action to save the accord.

He suggested "a symbolic deed" such as an airbridge to Maputo to provide supplies, or a contingent of 1 000 soldiers to protect the railway and power lines between Komatiepoort and Maputo.

However, it is important to note that the present crisis about Nkomati involves far more than just the Renamo-South Africa link. There are a number of important dimensions which reflect the domestic and international ramifications of the accord.

First, Mozambican-South African relations, particularly the philosophy and strategy of the Frelimo Government in this regard.

Secondly, the international network of support for Renamo across four continents.

Thirdly, the international interest, intrigue and manoeuvring around the accord.

It is crucial to understand that President Samora Machel had far more in mind with the Nkomati Accord than the destruction of Renamo which would enable his country to make an economic recovery.

It reflects the Frelimo view on South Africa, the whites and the Afrikaner in particular. It is not seen as a colonialist situation, often to the anger of the ANC and Frontline states such as Tanzania.

The Afrikaners are seen as people who, like President Machel himself and millions of Africans, came from peasant stock, and are here to stay. In fact, some Frelimo Cabinet Ministers and officials are at present reading "The Covenant" by James Michener. They told me that for the first time they understood the religious feeling of the Afrikaner and his fears for group survival.

Differing fundamentally from the ANC on the issue of an "armed struggle of liberation" from outside South Africa, Frelimo believes in a solution evolving from inside SA, involving compromises.

In terms of broad strategy, the Frelimo Government, therefore, had three aims in mind with Nkomati:

- It wanted to de-internationalise the East-West conflict in Southern Africa by keeping the United States and Soviet Union out of the regional conflict. This has been largely achieved.
- It wanted the removal of large numbers of South African military forces from her borders — which was seen as a threat to her sovereignty. This, too, has happened.
- By signing the accord with maximum publicity, giving South Africa tremendous international credibility, Frelimo

wanted to ensure two things: to remove all further excuses for South Africa to "destabilise" its neighbouring states. Once that happened the focus would revert back to the domestic situation inside South Africa. And it would then become clear that the domestic apartheid policy and nothing else was ultimately responsible for the tension in the region.

It was hoped that a successful Nkomati would create a new atmosphere in South Africa and provide confidence to President Botha to initiate new radical changes.

Frelimo claims that without Nkomati the Lusaka agreement with Angola, which produced the Joint Monitoring Commission, would not have been possible.

Moreover, Nkomati and the continuous public meetings between Marxist Frelimo and National Party leaders prepared the public climate for Mr Botha's dramatic and historic statement to release Nelson Mandela and to talk to the ANC under certain conditions — a revolutionary departure from NP strategy over 25 years.

And today President Machel believes that if such talks should materialise in the future, it would be vital to have at hand a neighbouring state such as Mozambique which has an understanding and sympathy for the historic positions of both the NP and the ANC.

Concerning the position of Renamo, Frelimo admits that even if Pretoria should destroy its South African links, the movement would still be supported from all over the world in a kind of zealous anti-Marxist drive.

Three months ago I revealed for the first time that Renamo receives supplies from the Comores Islands several hundred kilometres away from the Mozambican coast. These supplies come via Somalia from Saudi Arabia.

This support is prompted by allegations of the oppression of the Muslim religion in Mozambique, which has a large Muslim population in the central and northern parts.

**M**alawi and Israel also feature in the picture. According to Mozambican intelligence, several hundred Renamo fighters are been trained secretly in police camps in remote areas in Malawi. Training is under control of Israel.

Renamo is financially supported by rightwing financiers in Brazil and Portugal — with former Mozambican connections — the United States and West Germany.

In the latter country the funds are apparently provided by the Hans Seidel Foundation, linked to the CSU of Franz Joseph Strauss. This is the same foundation which has pumped in millions of rands into the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) in Namibia and bought two newspapers in Windhoek in 1978.

It is highly significant to note that all these financial and other sponsors of Renamo belong to the international lobby which Pretoria would call "friends" of South Africa. Various SA Government departments and key individuals have over the years developed the closest relationship with them.

Internationally, a number of countries with embassies in Maputo are watching the situation like hawks. These include the US, France, China, Portugal and the Soviet Union.

One myth that has to be demolished immediately is that the Russians are waiting for Nkomati to break down so they can move in, or that Moscow is applying pressure on Mozambique to withdraw.

Claims to that effect by some military instances in South Africa show total ignorance of the real politics of the region, or it is deliberately malicious, intended to create — without justification — an atmosphere of continued hawkishness toward Mozambique and tacit support or sympathy for Renamo.

Perhaps one of the outstanding, yet untold, achievements of Nkomati has been that it destroyed the myth of the "total onslaught" against South Africa conceived and manipulated by Moscow, with Angola and Mozambique the two faithful rubberstamp tools.

The fact is that Frelimo, as an African Marxist movement, has always been fiercely proud of its independent stand from Moscow. Ever since my first discussion with Frelimo leaders at the third congress in February 1977, this point has been emphasised.

And over the years there have been numerous examples and incidents illustrating this claim and fundamental disagreements between Maputo and Moscow.

Claims now about a "new line" by Frelimo and its "pro-West attitudes" show total misunderstanding about the nature of Frelimo. And senior Western diplomats I spoke to in Maputo are convinced that the Soviet Union does not want to be drawn into Mozambique or South Africa.

However, the Soviets could become more deeply involved when Mozambique totally reorganises its army to enable it to fight an effective counter-guerilla war.

For this it would have to rely heavily on the Soviet Union, which could increase Russian presence and involvement, basically against the wishes of Frelimo.

In view of the above, one can understand the recent remarks to me by a member of the Frelimo Politburo: "It will not serve the interests of South Africa to allow a chaotic situation to develop here. Whilst the Soviets may not want to become involved, their prestige, too, is at stake, especially if it seems that they are leaving in the lurch a country which is their ally.

"Such greater Soviet involvement will be contrary to South African and US efforts to counter Soviet influence in South Africa."

CSO: 3400/888

SOUTH AFRICA

RIGHTS OF TRIBAL GROUPS TO CHOOSE OWN REPRESENTATIVES EXAMINED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 15 Mar 85 p 10

[Article by Jo-Anne Collinge]

[Text]

When the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, announced earlier this year that South Africa had seen the last of forced removals, communities under threat of relocation looked suspiciously for the catch.

They latched on to the Minister's proviso that, where the leaders agreed to it, communities would still be moved.

Representatives of 21 communities immediately asked: "What leaders is the Government talking about — the chiefs and 'leaders' they have put over us, or our real leaders?"

This possible link between government-appointed leaders and removal provoked special interest in the recent court action by residents of the "black spot" kwaNgema to suspend their acting chief.

The judgment, handed down by Mr Justice T T Spoelstra in the Pretoria Supreme Court on Wednesday, is not good news for communities fighting removal.

It suggests that, if the Government were to use appointed "leaders" to achieve removals, residents would be hard put to block this by dislodging such chiefs or headmen.

The judge dismissed, with costs, the application by the Ngema Committee for an interdict temporarily preventing Mr Cuthbert Ngema from acting as chief and government officials from recognising him as such.

Mr Justice Spoelstra said it had not been shown that the community would suffer irreparable harm if Mr Cuthbert Ngema continued in office. He argued that the chief would not be able to negotiate the removal on his own. He would be bound to consult the family council, the "umdeni".

Further, the judge accepted that the Government fully intended discussing the removal with all interested parties, not only the acting chief it had put in office.

The applicants' argument on these two points was that:

- Mr Cuthbert Ngema and the authorities had redefined the composition of the "umdeni" to suit their purposes.
- There was extensive evidence that the Government intended the chief to play a decisive role in settling the removal issue.

Mr Justice Spoelstra also said he could not really understand the right which the applicants sought to protect — that is, to be governed by an individual or body legally endowed to do so. He said it was a right "so vague and general as to be almost non-existent".

But the Ngema Committee did not see it that way. Its chairman, Mr Moses Ngema, said after judgment: "What we have been trying is to follow the law. We know that the law says that leaders are chosen by voting — this is what happens in

places like Soweto and also in Parliament.

"Voting is the only fair way of choosing leaders. Instead, we are not allowed it."

He questioned especially the Government's refusal to take up the judge's suggestion during the first day of the case, that the parties settle out of court, creating channels for the community to choose its leader democratically.

In his judgment some days later Mr Justice Spoelstra expressed the view that, if the legality of Mr Cuthbert Ngema's appointment were tested in a further court action, it was unlikely he would be ousted.

The Ngema Committee argued that an acting chief could only be appointed to govern a tribe. Since the Ngema community did not constitute a tribe it could not have a chief.

Mr Justice Spoelstra countered there was legal precedent for adopting the everyday usage of the word and excluding highly technical evidence. In such circumstances the word "tribe" would hold good for almost any group bound by common ancestry — including, probably the Ngema family.

The Black Sash has commented: "If the anthropological and historical evidence about a community is regarded as irrelevant as to whether it can be defined as a tribe, very many communities are vulnerable to finding themselves with government-appointed chiefs as their representatives."

The powers of a chief over his tribe are extensive. He appoints the community authority, ensures compliance with Government orders — including those relating to the occupation of land — and determines when meetings can take place.

He is entitled to "the loyalty, respect and obedience of all native residents and may take such steps as to secure from them such loyalty, respect and obedience".

Whether all these powers will be used to the end of securing kwaNgema's removal remains to be seen. But the Black Sash points out: "The officials involved in the Ngema removals are the same people responsible for the removal of Mogopa last year."

In Mogopa, Mr Jacob More, a headman deposed by the tribe but still recognised by the Government, had secretly agreed to the removal — and that had contributed eventually to the total destruction of the Mogopa settlement near Ventersdorp, the Sash recalled.

CSO: 3400/888

SOUTH AFRICA

ALL RACE GROUPS TO BENEFIT FROM INCREASE IN SOCIAL PENSIONS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 19 Mar 85 p 4

[Text] Parliament--Coloured and Indian Ministers had an uphill battle in getting the Government to pay an equal R14 increase in social pensions to all race groups, the Indian Minister of the Budget, Mr Boeti Abramjee, said in the House of Delegates.

Mr Abramjee said the Government originally wanted the increases to be R18 for whites, R10 for Coloureds and Indians and R8 for blacks.

At one stage a deadlock was reached and the Indian and coloured Ministers had walked out of a meeting threatening to have nothing to do with the payment of pensions unless the Government changed its mind.

He said that for the first time in the history of South Africa, the Government had finally agreed to pay an equal social pension increase to all race groups.

In terms of the new increases, white social pensioners will now receive R180 a month, coloured and Indian pensioners R117 and black pensioners R79.

Mr Abramjee said coloured and Indian Ministers had also fought successfully to get a R36 bonus paid to pensioners of all race groups in May this year.

This was being done to assist social pensioners in the present economic climate.

The Government, he said, had originally wanted to pay a bonus of R36 to whites, R26 to coloureds and Indians and R18 to blacks.

Mr Abramjee and the coloured Minister of the Budget, the Rev *Andrew Julies*, announced that:

- Maintenance and family allowances were to be increased by R3 from R27 to R30 a child a month.
- Maintenance allowances payable to people kept in single care or in licensed institutions were to be increased by R14 from R103 to R117 a month.
- Foster parents' allowances were to be increased by R8 a month from R77,50 to R85,50.
- Attendants' allowances were to be increased by R6 a month from R12 to R18.

Similar announcements were made in the House of Assembly.

CSO: 3400/888

SOUTH AFRICA

NEW TECH REPLACES ELECTRONICS WORKERS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 19 Mar 85 p 9

[Text]

About 500 workers at a major electronics company in the Pretoria area are to lose their jobs due to new technology.

Those affected by the switchover to modern electronic telephone equipment include mainly unskilled, semi-skilled and administrative employees at the Siemens Koedoespoort and Waltloo factories.

**TO BE AXED**

Roughly 200 coloured people (half the coloured labour component), 30 percent of the black force (almost 300) and about 50 white wage and salaried staff will be axed in the next few weeks.

To soften the blow Siemens has called for voluntary redundancies. About 50 people have shown interest in this offer so far.

A Siemens spokesman said: "It is unfortunate that this move has come at the time of an economic downswing, but these redundancies are not related to economic considerations.

"The telephone equip-

ment production presently being phased out is highly labour-intensive and the new printed electronic circuitry we make is far less so."

The severance pay package includes four weeks' wages in lieu of notice, an additional week's pay for each year of service up to 10 years, and two weeks' pay for each year of service over 10 years.

Attempts are also being made to place workers with other companies and Siemens is probing ways of offering redundant workers training courses for alternative employment.

Courses are being offered at the Government In-service Training Centre in Waltloo.

At the same time, Siemens has about 30 posts available for skilled technicians and engineers.

Part of the modernisation will also mean the closure of the Koedoespoort factory, where pre-assembly of the old telephone equipment took place. New buildings will be constructed at the site.

CSO: 3400/908

SOUTH AFRICA

UNIONS PUSH FOR REDUCTION OF WORKING HOURS

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 29 Mar 85 p 15

[Article by Joshua Roboroko]

[Text]

**THE reduction of the working week by five hours to help ease unemployment, high wages and maternity leave in the metal and engineering industry, will be proposed by a group of five trade unions at the Industrial Council negotiations next Tuesday.**

The unions will be negotiating jointly for the first time under the banner of the South African Council of International Metalworkers Federation at the Industrial Council. The meeting takes place in Johannesburg.

The unions comprise, the Metal and Allied Workers Union (Mawu), the Steel Engineering and Allied Workers Union (Seawu), the South African Boilermakers' Society (SABS), Engineering Industrial

Workers' Union (EIWU) and the National Automobile and Allied Workers Union (Naawu).

The SACIMF, which represents some 200 000 metalworkers in SA, has since inception, committed itself to fight poverty wages, the restrictive influx control, working conditions and apartheid in all its forms.

The local IMF's general secretary, Mr Brian Fredericks, told The SOWETAN yesterday that they resolved to negotiate jointly, because they represented the majority of workers in the Industrial Council.

He said other proposals include the raising of the industry's minimum wage to R3,50 an hour, an across-the-board 50c hourly pay increase, reduction of

overtime and allowance on the annual leave.

Two of the unions — Mawu and SABS — refused to sign the IC wage agreement with the Steel Engineering Industries Federation of SA (Seifsa), an employers association, last year and threatened to take industrial action.

Mr Fredericks said they believed they have to be tough at the negotiation table, but they will also take into cognisance the country's recession and the large scale unemployment.

"We shall finally make a decision on all these issues later, depending on what the employers will be giving to our members," he said. However, he could not say whether they will resort to industrial action.

A spokesman for the IC has confirmed the meeting.

CSO: 3400/908

SOUTH AFRICA

UNEMPLOYMENT UP BY 75 PERCENT IN NATAL

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 29 Mar 85 p 12

[Text]

DURBAN. -- The rate of unemployment in Natal has rocketed by more than 75 percent since January this year, according to Mr J Hitchcock, divisional inspector for the Department of Manpower in Durban.

He said this week 29 959 people registered with the Department as unemployed last month of which 19 878 were Blacks. In January the figure was 17 124 of which 9 133 were Blacks.

Mr Hitchcock said the sharp increase was probably the result of Blacks returning from the homelands after the holidays to seek employment. The figures are expected to increase gradually from now on," he added.

Latest figures released by the Department show that in the Durban area alone, 3 414 Whites, 1 523 Coloureds and 5 144 Indians were unemployed in February.

In the previous months there were 2 960 Whites, 1 229 Coloureds, and 3 802 Indians unemployed.

Two unemployed Whites attracted public attention when they staged a sit-in demonstration in central Durban on Wednesday morning, complete with their tools and baggage, to highlight their plight.

Mr David Douglas (35) and Mr Desmond van der Merwe (25), said they had been battling for a job since January after their previous employment contracts with a Richards Bay company and the South African Transport services ended.

Mr Douglas, a former instruments foreman, said he and his colleague had travelled as far as Cape Town in search of employment.

He said they had decided to stage a "polite request for a job" during the peak early morning rush hour in the hope that somebody would take notice of their plight.

But, by midmorning when there was still no prospect of a job, they packed it in. — Sapa.

CSO: 3400/908

SOUTH AFRICA

## EFFECTS OF DISINVESTMENT ON BLACKS WEIGHED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 22 Mar 85 p 9

[Article by Phillip Van Niekerk: "Racial Dilemma of Disinvestment"]

[Text]

**BLACK** South Africans have become a political football in the heated debate over disinvestment engendered by pending anti-South African legislation in the United States Congress.

The key arguments on either side hinge on the effects economic sanctions will have on blacks: one side says it will hasten the end of apartheid; the other that it will create greater unemployment and starvation among blacks.

The dilemma of those who have not yet made up their minds was summarised by Bishop John Walker, the Episcopal Bishop of Washington, DC, who viewed the workings of apartheid first hand during a recent visit to South Africa.

Although he is a black man and although he shook with anger after seeing the squatter camps and urban ghettos within a few hours' driving distance of Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel, Bishop Walker is not yet an advocate of total disinvestment.

"It would be premature for me to call for total disinvestment until the black people of South Africa have made up their minds and agreed on a unified stance on the issue," he said.

Bishop Walker put his finger on the crux of the issue: what do blacks think, how much will they suffer and is it a matter of making sacrifices for the higher goal of "liberation"?

For this reason, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's recent tour of the United States was probably the most important card that the anti-disinvestment lobby could play in the propaganda battle in Washington.

And the demand by Bishop Desmond Tutu, Bishop of Johannesburg, that the country dismantle apartheid in 18 to 24 months or he would advocate punitive economic sanctions was made to an attentive world audience.

In the black community, among political and trade union groupings, there are divergent approaches to disinvestment ... but the debate has been stifled by security legislation.

The widely-framed section 54 of the Internal Security Act is thought to make it a criminal offence to advocate disinvestment.

The most unequivocal pro-disinvestment stand is that of the African National Congress (ANC), which holds that foreign investment can only contribute to the strengthening of the "apartheid regime".

The ANC sees the call for disinvestment as both a tactical lever as well as a moral issue. They believe the removal of foreign investment will leave the Government undoubtedly weakened. "Coupled with mass political struggle and armed action, the downfall of the regime will be hastened that much."

The ANC holds that its call for disinvestment is a moral question, in that foreign investors in South Africa are making huge profits from an "immoral system that has been internationally condemned".

A number of internal political leaders, such as Dr Nthatho Motlana, of the Soweto Civic Association, have said that foreign investment creates stability, and that there is likely to be less change when the system is stabilised.

On the opposite end of the spectrum, Chief Buthelezi argues that the withdrawal of investments in South Africa by United States companies would be a strategy against black interests and not a "punitive stick" with which to beat apartheid.

He said in the United States that for large American companies to opt out of the South African situation was to opt out of being catalysts in the process of change.

"It is the large corporations which have broken apartheid barriers, leading to real

advancement for black workers ... and international capital could back educational and development programmes".

This view — that foreign investment has a beneficial effect on reform and creates jobs — has been endorsed by the more conservative leaders of the national states, and mayors and members of the various town councils.

The leading black trade union leaders, however, believe it is important that economic and political pressure be maintained against the Government and say that they have no illusions that big corporations are the standard-bearers of change.

They believe black workers have suffered extensively over the years and that it would be a case of "crocodile tears" for employers to use the welfare of their employees as an argument against disinvestment.

The unions have not spoken out against the disinvestment lobby, but nor have they come out totally in favour of disinvestment.

Their predicament was summarised by a speaker at a panel discussion on disinvestment in Johannesburg this week, who pointed to the razor-sharp line dividing beneficial pressure from the fact that the sanctions movement develops a momentum of its own and could lead to economic chaos.

The Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa) has made a strong call for "selective" disinvestment ... in effect, endorsing the legislation before the United States Congress.

"Apartheid is a crime against humanity, and the majority of people are racially

oppressed. Under these circumstances we would consider calling for total disinvestment, but we don't think this would work," said Mr Piroshaw Camay, general secretary of Cusa.

According to Mr Camay, the freeze on new investment would be a control mechanism, to be maintained as long as apartheid remains in force, but with the incentive that it be removed once apartheid is eliminated.

He did not deny that foreign companies had played a role in uplifting the welfare of their employees and setting an example to local companies, but said workers were demanding fundamental change, not just the desegregation of canteens and toilets at their factories.

"What we are demanding of companies that stay in South Africa is that they get involved in pressurising the Government into fundamental change."

Mr Joe Foster, general secretary of the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu), said if he stood up in public and called for disinvestment "our members at Leyland would kill me".

While Fosatu felt it was correct for there to be pressure on the Government, they were not convinced that disinvestment would bring about the desired change, he said.

Fosatu believes that the credit for improvements to wages and working conditions should go to pressure from the black unions and not to the foreign companies.

On the bottom line, the primary pressure for change should be generated inside the country.

CSO: 3400/908

## SOUTH AFRICA

## IMPACT OF DISINVESTMENT ON BLACK EMPLOYMENT EXAMINED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 22 Mar 85 p 9

[Text]

THE MOST frequently-used argument against disinvestment is that it would cause unemployment and harm blacks, the very people whom such action would be designed to benefit.

However, this fear could be exaggerated. According to the co-ordinators of the Sullivan Code, United States companies in South Africa employ only about 70 000 workers... less than 1% of the country's total workforce.

Assuming a total pull-out by United States companies — an event which is still far from becoming reality — South African companies could buy up these factories, probably at discount prices, saving most of the jobs.

Mr Stephen Bissenius, head of the newly-formed American Association for Trade and Investment, has pointed out that the word "disinvestment" is a misnomer. "The campaign, correctly defined, aims to affect almost all trade, licensing agreements and technology transfer between the United States and South Africa," he said.

Thus the effects on unemployment could only be calculated in terms of the effects of a wide range of economic sanctions on the

growth of the South African economy, a calculation which is almost impossible to make.

Here we can only go on the words of Dr Johan Cloete, chief economist for Barclays Bank, who pointed out that the "disinvestment lobby bodes ill for our economy".

The targets of the pending United States legislation include a ban on the importation of Krugerrands, a ban on all sales of computers and a ban on all new private and corporate investment.

The most dramatic — a freeze on new investment from the United States — might not be as drastic as has been imagined.

Since 1976 there has been a net outflow of United States and other direct foreign investment from South Africa, and foreign investment has declined as a slice of the country's economy.

Economic experts believe this partially accounts for the already high unemployment levels in this country due to the unstable political climate in South Africa.

This is a situation which, if accurate accounting were possible, might prove to have been far more damaging to the South African

economy than any formal economic sanctions.

The effects of bans on the transfer of technology, such as computers, is impossible to estimate because of the likelihood that the country would be able to acquire this technology under the counter.

Bans on the sale of Krugerrands in the United States and on new loans from United States banks (forcing South Africa to look for loans in Europe) would be irritants, but would be unlikely to lead to economic catastrophe.

South Africa has had to live with an oil embargo for more than 15 years, and while this has forced the country to buy oil at a premium, it has hardly brought the economy to its knees.

Trade sanctions would hit South Africa more severely than an investment boycott, but even here the example of Rhodesia somewhat lessens the psychological threat.

Professor Arnt Spandau, then head of the Department of Business Economics at Wits University, pointed out in 1976 that Rhodesia was the "most astonishing example of survival potential under economic sanctions".

Manipulation of exchange control, the suspension of interest payments on United Kingdom loans and the wide-open "back door" of South Africa were some of the adjustments which kept the Rhodesian economy going.

Prof Spandau made the last comprehensive assessment of the costs of economic boycotts against South Africa in 1976.

He calculated that a "pure" boycott of 50% of all long-term foreign investments in South Africa would lead to the loss of a total of 90 911 jobs... 51 789 of them black.

Prof Spandau also estimated that a hypothetical

50% export trade boycott would cost a total of 1 083 462 jobs, a figure which would have increased marginally. But this is a scenario which is a long way from becoming a reality.

Much of what would happen under extended international economic sanctions belongs in the realm of guesswork.

The fact that one does not yet know what forms new sanctions will take in the future, and how the South African economy will adjust to the new situation, makes it impossible to make a finite estimate.

Just as it is impossible to estimate the irreparable harm that has already been done to the South African economy by the on-going political climate and international moral indignation with apartheid, which over the years has deterred foreign investors from moving into South Africa.

CSO: 3400/908

SOUTH AFRICA

SUSPENSION OF CLASSES IN EAST RAND SCHOOLS LIFTED

Johannesburg THE SOWETAN in English 13 Mar 85 p 5

[Article by Mzikayise Edom]

[Text] The Department of Education and Training has lifted the suspension of classes at 16 schools in the East Rand--but six schools in other parts of the country remain closed.

Mr Edgar Posselt, the deputy chief public relations officer of DET, yesterday said the turnout of pupils at the 11 Duduza schools was very good when the suspension of classes ended on Monday. About 82 percent of the nine primary school pupils attended classes while 86 percent of the two high school pupils turned up.

He said the suspension of classes at the five Tembisa high schools also ended on Monday and pupils came back in large numbers. Of the 723 pupils at Jiyane Secondary School, 540 turned up while at Tembisa High School 800 out of 1 060 pupils attended. The suspension of classes at a school in Odendaalsrus was also lifted yesterday.

Mr Posselt said DET yesterday suspended classes at the Walmansdal High School in Soshanguve and that pupils at two secondary schools in Thabong, Welkom, boycotted classes for no reason at about 10 am. Pupils at the Soshanguve school did not attend lessons because one of their teachers was transferred without being informed.

He also announced the suspension of classes of Mophathe Secondary School in Bothaville, North Western Free State, a secondary school in Wesselsbron until March 20, a secondary school in Virginia, a secondary school, Vula-masango in Bloemfontein, will also resume classes on March 18.

CSO: 3400/876

SOUTH AFRICA

KATLEHONG COUNCIL BUYS FIREARMS

Johannesburg THE SOWETAN in English 22 Mar 85 p 4

[Text]

**THE Katlehong Town Council has bought more than 60 shotguns worth about R48 000 for use in the control of rioting in the township in the near future.**

Reliable sources close to the council informed The SOWETAN yesterday that the guns were purchased a few weeks ago.

Our sources also said the guns will be used by the 120 policemen who will be hired by the council.

The SOWETAN was also told that the councillors "granted" themselves 50 residential and business sites in the past few months, without advertising the sites to the public.

Mr SS Lukhele, the new mayor of Katlehong, refused to discuss the issue. He said the council will be meeting soon to discuss the matter and a Press statement will be issued thereafter.

Mr Lukhele also denied that the councillors had granted themselves the 50 sites.

He said: "There is nothing like that and if a councillor is granted a site he applies first and is interviewed by the council like any other member of the community."

The Katlehong Town Council decided to buy the shotguns last year in September, according to minutes in the possession of The SOWETAN. According to the minutes the firearms will be kept at the local offices of the council and will mainly be used during the disturbances in the township.

Our sources said the council had also decided that in case there are no riots in the township, the shotguns will be used by the council policemen.

CSO: 3400/876

SOUTH AFRICA

PRIVATELY OWNED FIREARMS SWELL TO 2 MILLION

Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 17 Mar 85 p 3

[Article by David Breier]

[Text]

WHILE Transvaal motorists take potshots at each other, the police continue to issue thousands of private firearm licences, swelling South Africa's awesome privately-owned arsenal to more than two million firearms.

The number of people licensed to carry firearms rose from 961 437 in 1983 to 986 334 last year. A total of 2 137 030 private firearms are legally in the possession of South Africans.

At the same time the chronic slaughter on roads is taking on a new dimension, with three motorists gunned down in the past week after traffic incidents.

SA Police commissioner General Johan Coetzee said there had been a steady increase in applications for firearms licences.

The public desire to carry firearms for self-protection was a reaction to the general increase in violent crimes and to the unrest. Rape, housebreaking and serious assault have all increased during the last year while murder has increased by an alarming 9,4 percent.

### **Violent**

The Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, who has control over the issue of private firearm licences, said the authorities were strict in the issuing of licences.

(Figures released in Parliament showed that about 20 000 licence applications were refused during the past two years.)

Mr Vlok said that when the police received an application for a licence, they investigated the applicant thoroughly.

If he had any record of violence, he could be refused while a person losing a firearm could be declared unfit to carry a weapon for five years.

The Arms and Ammunition Act was tightened up two years ago to make it easier for the Minister to declare a person unfit to possess a firearm.

Mr Vlok said the prime reason for owning a firearm was self-protection.

The police have begun to get tougher with applicants — last year 476 people were declared unfit to possess a firearm compared to 401 the previous year.

The number of firearm licences issued during the last two years was more than 120 000 annually, but last year the number of refusals increased by about 2 000.

CSO: 3400/890

SOUTH AFRICA

## ITALIAN OIL FIRM INCREASES INVESTMENT

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 17 Mar 85 p 9

[Article by Don Robertson]

[Text]

**AGIP**, the oil company owned by the Italian Government, has raised its investment in South Africa by R1-million and will soon launch a motor oil and car-care products.

Managing director Luciano Alberti says relations between SA and Italy have improved after an exchange of visits by government officials of the two nations.

Until this development, Agip operated on a low key in SA and concentrated on supplying lubricants to the general engineering and mining sectors.

"Now that the position has changed, we are here officially and are looking to increase our share of the market," says Dr Alberti.

### Synthetic

The new Sint 2 000 motor oil, used by the Ferrari Formula One racing team, will soon be available in SA. It is a synthetic lubricant and is blended in South Africa from imported base oils and SA-made additives.

Sint 2 000 operates in the 10W/50 range and the company claims it exceeds all car manufacturers' performance requirements in

terms of oil change and oxidation stability.

Although conceding that it will be difficult to break into the market, Dr Alberti hopes to gain a 5% share in three years.

Emphasis will be placed on customer service and representatives have been trained in Italy to give them a background on the product.

The company has the largest petroleum research and development laboratory in Europe — and a history of innovative technological development.

### Network

Dr Alberti says: "We have tried to negotiate the opening of filling stations, but this has been impossible because of regulations to restrict the number of garages."

The car-care products include exterior protection and treatment items as well as cleaners, aerosol tyre inflators and emergency starter packs.

An agreement has been concluded with Alfa Romeo and Inter City Motor Spares to provide a network of agents and distributors.

CSO: 3400/908

SOUTH AFRICA

UCT PRINCIPAL CONCERNED OVER DAWN ARRESTS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 26 Mar 85 p 17

[Text]

CAPE TOWN. — The fact that students were being pursued on a charge of allegedly holding an illegal meeting, while he knew of no event at that time of the year which was not peaceful or orderly "illustrates the degree to which citizens are denied civil rights in South Africa," Dr Stuart Saunders, vice-chancellor and principal of the University of Cape Town said yesterday.

His statement follows the recent dawn arrest of students for allegedly holding an illegal meeting on the property of the University of Cape Town.

Dr Saunders said information about members of the university is held by the university under normal conditions of confidence and trust.

"The university's policy with regard to providing

information to a third party, including State authorities, was laid down some years ago and was reviewed in the middle of 1984. In terms of our policy the university will release the address of an individual if a warrant has been issued for his arrest, or if a summons or subpoena has been issued in his or her name. The person concerned will also be informed immediately by the university.

"Students are being pursued on a charge of allegedly holding an illegal meeting on the property of the University of Cape Town. I know of no event at that time of the year which was not peaceful or orderly, and the fact that a charge can be pressed in the circumstances illustrates the degree to which citizens are denied civil rights in South Africa," Dr Saunders said.

CSO: 3400/874

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

PRC MAIZE IMPORTED--South Africa has imported 20 000 tons of maize from communist China. Maize Board chairman Hennie Nel says the grain is being offloaded in East London and will be used to make up the shortfall in SA's requirements. South Africa has a standing contract to export 1,8-million tons of maize to Taiwan, but because of successive droughts only 700 000 tons has been delivered. Mr Nel says the board has used an escape clause in the contract to delay delivery until there is a surplus crop. The price of the communist Chinese maize was "R18 a ton cheaper than American grain and of a much better quality." This means the Chinese maize cost about \$133 a ton at current exchange rates compared with the American price of \$142. The deal has added to the confusion surrounding the size of South Africa's mealie crop. Grain distributors Kahn & Kahn, renowned for the accuracy of its annual predictions of the maize crop, expects "not less than 6,5-million tons" this season. South Africa's needs are 6-million tons. However, the Maize Board says the crop will be about 5,5-million tons. Negotiations have taken place with Zimbabwe to import white mealies "if they are willing and if the price is right." Zimbabwe is thought to favour an exchange of 50 000 tons of SA wheat for its maize. The possibility of a barter deal is denied by Mr Nel. He says the SA crop is by no means certain as yet. [Text] [Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 17 Mar 85 pp 1, 3]

INDIAN MPs' CONSORTIUM--Cape Town--A group of 18 Ind-an MPs have formed a business consortium to buy a large block of flats and offices in the city's Woodstock suburb for more than a million rand, a member of the House of Delegates said yesterday. The 18 shareholding MPs, mostly from Durban, plan to contribute R60 000 each towards the company's capital fund at the rate of R1 000 a month each.--Sapa [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 29 Mar 85 p 11]

ECONOMIC GROWTH RATE--Stellenbosch--The average economic growth rate is unlikely to exceed 3% a year over the next five years, while an average annual inflation rate of 10% seems likely, according to a leading economist. "Taking into account projected population growth and the number of new entrants into the labour market, these figures are disturbing," said Professor A.J.M. de Vries, director of the Stellenbosch Bureau for Economic Research, in a prepared speech for a conference on long-term growth. "In fact this could be a classical recipe, from an economic point of view, for social and

political upheaval." Examining the outlook to 1990, he said the shortage of skilled workers and managers would have a negative impact on growth. There seemed to be a lot of crisis management of the economy, resulting in confusion and gloom. He urged long-term planning. SA would have to come to terms with the fact that it could no longer depend on gold. The public sector would have to curb its share of the economy "quite drastically," he added.-- Reuter [Text] [Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 18 Mar 85 p 4]

PWV GROWTH--The relative share of the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal Triangle area in South Africa's gross geographic product (GGP) has tended to stagnate, according to data from the Central Statistical Services. The relative share of the Cape Peninsula and adjacent districts, the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage region, East London and its environs and the Durban-Pinetown area have shown a tendency to decline. However, the rest of the country has shown relatively sharp growth, from 30,9 percent of the national total in 1972 to 34,6 percent in 1978. The latest Volkskas Economic Spotlight which deals with the figures, says that although the information is relatively outdated, it is still useful in that it reflects underlying trends. "These trends change only gradually and are, therefore, still valid for comparative purposes." Provincial contributions to gross product between 1972 and 1978 showed the following rises: Cape--from R3 654 million to R8 285 million; Natal--from R2 024 million to R4 683 million; OFS--From R1 145 million to R3 023 million; Transvaal--from R7 255 million to R18 948 million. Gross product for the country as a whole rose from R14 078 million in 1972 to R34 939 million in 1978. Volkskas cautions that since the gold price rose sharply between 1972 and 1978, there was a sharp increase in GGP in gold-mining areas. "This also applies to the figures for the various provinces, and this is one reason why the shares of the Transvaal and the OFS in the total GGP increased further." [Text] [Johannesburg THE SUNDAY STAR in English 17 Mar 85 p 1]

ARGUS DEFEATS SAAN--The Argus company has now succeeded in its campaign to destroy two SAAN newspapers which stood in its way. It invaded Saturday morning markets of the Rand Daily Mail and the Mercury in Natal. It used its immense financial resources to capture the property advertising that sustained the Sunday Express, and it conducted a similar raid on the property advertising of the Cape Times. When the Sunday Express was relaunched as a quality newspaper, the Sunday Star was immediately launched to cripple it. All this is legitimate commercial competition, and the Argus company is to be congratulated on its success. That's what makes it so strange that senior Argus people are wailing with dismay and covering their heads with ashes because they have succeeded in killing the newspapers they set out to kill. [Text] [Johannesburg SUNDAY EXPRESS in English 17 Mar 85 p 8]

NIP MANIFESTO--Maseru--Lesotho needs to establish diplomatic relations with South Africa because of the large number of Basotho workers employed in the Republic, the newly established National Independent Party says in its manifesto published here. The party under the leadership of Mr Anthony Manyeli, a former Cabinet Minister, says it also wants to work towards the termination of existing ties between Lesotho and Communist countries. The manifesto said there was a need for the establishment of diplomatic relations between Lesotho and South Africa to ensure that the welfare of Basotho

living in South Africa was safeguarded. Lesotho also had a large volume of trade with South Africa which needed to be strengthened. The National Independent Party joined several small opposition parties in Lesotho which have announced their intention to contest the first general election for 15 years in Lesotho later this year. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 19 Mar 85 p 8]

COUNTER-ACTION ORGANIZED AGAINST DISINVESTMENT--An aggressive campaign against American disinvestment was begun yesterday in South Africa. An organization called the American Association for Trade and Investment (AATI) was established in Johannesburg, and plans are now being made to thwart the disinvestment campaign in an aggressive and very direct way. Mr Stephen Bisenius, the former executive director of the American department of commerce, heads the new organization, which will shortly open offices in Johannesburg and Washington. Countries such as Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana, "which will be very much affected by a successful disinvestment campaign," will also be involved in a counter-campaign of the AATI. Two pilot committees--one in America and the other in South Africa--will handle the activities of the organization in the two countries. In South Africa the pilot committee will consist of American and South African businessmen. Work has already begun on an emergency plan of action intended especially to point out to legislators in the American congress and the various state governments the serious and detrimental consequences that disinvestment holds for both South African and American workers. One of the first tasks of the organization will be to combat anti-South African legislation now being brought before the American congress. "We shall have to throw all our resources into the battle to work against this legislation, for as soon as it is approved, it will be almost impossible to have it removed from the statutes again," said Mr Bisenius. In addition to the American department of commerce, the AATI plans to join together the interests of American business firms represented in South Africa and the some 8 000 firms not represented here, but which do business here. The campaign against South Africa, says Mr Bisenius, is very serious and openly aimed at completely annihilating the trade relations between the two countries. "To keep our opponents effectively in check, we must toil day and night. Our task will require constant vigilance against anything that threatens the trade relations between America and South Africa. The goal of the organization is to protect the existing trade relations between the two countries and even to expand them considerably." The AATI will endeavor to insure that alternative and positive legislation concerning South Africa is accepted in America. Legal aid organizations in America will be used in order to fight in the courts the right of American firms to do business with South Africa. [Text] [Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans 2 Mar 85 p 5] 8117

CRIME INCREASE OF 9.39 PERCENT--Cape Town: Murder is alarmingly on the increase, but the total crime picture in South Africa does not call for concern, claims the annual report of the South African police. In the year under review, from 1 July 1983 to 30 June 1984, 9 462 cases of murder were reported, in contrast to the 8 573 of the previous year--an increase of 9.39 percent. The incidence of serious crime increased less than in the previous year--1.64 percent as contrasted with 3.74 percent--and robbery, car-theft and cattle-theft have truly decreased, by 1.26, 0190 and 1.23 percent, respectively. There were, however, increases of 2.80, 3.04 and 2.62 percent, respectively,

in the incidence of rape, burglary and serious assault. The police do not accept the crime situation as a matter of course. They are thoroughly aware of the problems and the increasing complexity of maintaining law and order in a modern society, as well as the demands that this makes on them. The annual report mentions that 37,755 cases of theft, 15,785 of rape, 153,440 of burglary, 44,372 of car-theft and 125 9002 [sic] of serious assault were reported during the year under review. Terrorist actions have increased to 56, in contrast to the 31 of the previous year; child abuse increased from 1 159 to 1 341 cases, shoplifting from 26,224 to 27,245 cases and drunken driving from 24,431 to 27,453 cases. The report mentions that the conclusion of the Nkomati Agreement has definitely had an effect on the domestic security situation and that there has been a patent decrease in infiltration. In the year under review, 40,845 people in all were prosecuted for possession, use or cultivation of marijuana and trafficking in marijuana. The police seized 316,359 kg of marijuana and destroyed an estimated 1,700,606 kg. In response to a question, Minister Le Grange said that 830 murders last year, 686 rapes and 1 605 robberies were recorded at the four police stations in Soweto-West. [Text] [Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans 5 Mar 85 p 4] 8117

MPS PAID TO LIVE AT HOME--Members of the Minister's Council in the (Indian) House of Delegates are paid an allowance of R1 000 a month to live in their own houses when Parliament is not in session, it was disclosed in Cape Town this week. Members of Ministers' Councils in the House of Assembly and the House of Representatives say they do not get similar allowances. The payments have been criticised by members of the opposition Solidarity Party in the House of Delegates. Rentals for comparable houses would be only R400 to R500 on the open market, they say. Members of Ministers' Councils are paid about R70 000 a year in salaries and allowances. [Text] [Johannesburg SUNDAY EXPRESS in English 17 Mar 85 p 1]

COLOURED FARMERS' ALLOCATION--House of Representatives--Not only was the money allocated to Coloureds insufficient to make Coloured farmers competent to compete with White farmers, but Coloureds still had to get permits to buy farming land, Mr J.D. Krieger (LP Hantam) said. Speaking during the resumption of the second reading debate on the Own Affairs Budget, Mr Krieger said Coloured farmers were hamstrung in obtaining permits, they had to first get the permission of Whites in the area. "We will be able to contribute to rural areas that are becoming depopulated...but R7-million is not enough to encourage Coloureds in agriculture." He called on the Minister of Housing and Agriculture, Mr David Curry, to do everything possible to get rid of the permit system and to expedite the implementation of all legislation that made property ownership for Coloured farmers possible. [Excerpt] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 27 Mar 85 p 4]

VETERAN SAAF WAR PILOT RETIRES--One of the last Second World War pilots still serving with the South African Air Force, Commandant Pat Conway, has retired after 45 years' service. When Commandant Conway stopped flying in 1982 at the age of 60, he was one of the most experienced maritime pilots in the Air Force and was the survivor of five major flying accidents. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 27 Mar 85 p 9]

BANK TO STOP LOANS--The First National Bank of Boston is to stop granting loans or issuing lines of credit to private banks in South Africa because of the country's policies. A spokesman for the bank, Mr Wayne Taylor, said in a statement that the policy would come into effect immediately. He said the total amount of Bank of Boston loans to nine South African banks was now about 150 million rand. Mr Taylor also said that existing loans to private South African banks by the bank expired by the middle of next year. [Text] [Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 26 Mar 85]

INDIAN AFFAIRS BUDGET--House of Delegates--The Indian "Own Affairs" Budget of under R600-million was inadequate to meet the community's requirements, Mr Ismail Kathrada (Sol Verulam), said. Speaking in the debate on the Appropriation Bill, he said the Minister of the Budget (Mr Boetie Abramjee) should go back to the Minister of Finance (Mr Barend du Plessis) and demand a bigger allocation of money for the administration of Indian affairs. Mr Ahomed Lambat (Ind, Actonville), said the Budget had to be seen in the light of the current depressed economy, and the country would save a lot of money by scrapping the tricameral system in favour of a single parliament for all races. He objected to the state cutting down on the 13th cheque bonus to civil servants to save money, he said. The leader of the official opposition, Dr Jagaram Reddy, said he wished to pay tribute to the Minister of the Budget on the presentation his first Budget--but with reservations. [Excerpt] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 27 Mar 85 p 4]

INDIAN EDUCATION PROBE--House of Delegates--The time had come for the institution of a thorough investigation into Indian education in South Africa, the Leader of the Opposition Solidarity Party in the House of Delegates, Dr J.N. Reddy, said. Speaking in the resumed Second Reading Debate on the Budget, Dr Reddy said such an investigation was necessary so that Indian students could know where they stood. "We don't want them to come out adequately trained and find out that there is no work for them." He believed the structures existed to help the students. Dr Reddy said he felt, also, that Indian members should not sit in Parliament merely to find fault with the priorities, but rather to contribute to establishing them.--Sapa [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 27 Mar 85 p 4]

MIXED MARRIAGES--There are "very good reasons" for repealing the Mixed Marriages Act but these have nothing to do with suggestions that Whites are in any case "Coloured" by the inclusion of other blood, says the National Party organ, the Nationalist. Commenting on Groep Sonder Grense, Dr Hans Heese's book about racial mixing in the 18th century, the Nationalist said it was unacceptable that fistfights should occur at city council meetings over a claim by one member that he was of a whiter shade than another. "What counts is the acceptance of people as members of their respective communities and not whether they picked up a drop of 'otherblood' somewhere along the road," the article said. The issue was whether established traditions and customs required legal sanctions or not. "The question is whether measures such as the Mixed Marriages Act still serve a useful purpose, particularly as they are perceived to be denigrating certain population groups. "The National Party's approach is that their abolition may be considered provided this does not break down the continued social, education and constitutional order based on the reality that the South African social order is arranged in the context of groups." [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 27 Mar 85 p 3]

SEVEN CONTEST PE SEATS--Port Elizabeth--Seven candidates--including an independent--have been nominated for the Parliamentary and Provincial by-elections in Port Elizabeth's Newton Park constituency on May 1. The Parliamentary seat will be contested by Mr Sakkie Louw of the National Party, Mr Izak Smuts of the Progressive Federal Party, Mr Marius Oosthuizen of the Conservative Party and an independent candidate, Mr Johan Stander. In the provincial council by-election, the candidates are Mr Ginkel Venter (NP), Mr Rick McKeiver (PFP) and Mr Jack Engelbrecht (CP).--Sapa [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITZEN in English 26 Mar 85 p 10]

CSO: 3400/874

UGANDA

OBOTE CALLS FOR MANDATORY SANCTIONS AGAINST RSA

EA231944 Kampala Domestic Service in English 1000 GMT 23 Mar 85

[Text] President Milton Obote has urged the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid to ensure that racist South Africa is denied all forms of international support.

In a special message delivered to the chairman of the special committee on the occasion of the observance of the 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre at the UN headquarters in New York, the president said apartheid must be dismantled because it cannot be reformed. In this regard Dr Obote called upon the international community to rededicate itself to the struggle for the total elimination of apartheid and all forms of racial discriminations. The president reiterated Uganda's stand that comprehensive mandatory sanctions must be imposed against South Africa in accordance with Chapter 7 of the UN Charter.

Dr Obote rejected the so-called new constitutional reforms of the South African racist regime which he said are aimed at perpetuating apartheid and breaking the backbone of the united struggle of the South African people against racist oppression. He commended the people of South Africa for having massively rejected the sham constitutional reforms. Dr Obote noted that apartheid South Africa perpetuates racist oppression and aggression because of the economic and military assistance she obtained from her Eastern [as heard] friends. The committee, he said, should prevail on these friends of apartheid South Africa to discontinue rendering comfort to that regime. Dr Obote noted with satisfaction the emergence of the free South Africa movement in the USA which has given impetus to the campaign against the current US. policy of constructive engagement towards South Africa.

CSO: 3400/815

ZAMBIA

TAZARA CLOSES LINE AS DEBT SOARS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 23 Mar 85 p 5

[Text]

LUSAKA. — Services on the Chinese-built Tazara railway linking Zambia with the East African coast have been suspended because of a severe shortage of fuel, a Tazara spokesman said yesterday.

The lack of fuel resulted from a failure by the Bank of Zambia to remit more than R3.6-million needed to settle debts with several companies at the railway's headquarters in Dar es Salaam, he added.

The spokesman said he did not know how long the suspension would last, but it was affecting freight and passenger services in both directions.

Services have been halted despite an agreement in January to pay for some Tazara operations in Zambian kwacha's and Tanzanian shillings, rather than scarce foreign exchange.

That agreement followed the suspension of services in November after the Bank of Zambia failed to remit foreign exchange to Dar es Salaam.

Tariffs were increased at the same time to take into account the devaluation of the two countries' currencies.

The 1 900 km rail line is crucial to the frail Zambian economy as up to 80 percent of the country's copper exports are transported on it. Copper is almost Zambia's only sources of hard currency.  
— Sapa-Reuter.

CSO: 3400/881

ZIMBABWE

BRIEFS

DISSIDENTS ABDUCT COUNCILLORS--The ZANU-PF secretary for finance, Comrade Enos Nkala, has announced that a group of dissidents has abducted two councillors in the Gwanda district. Comrade Nkala made this disclosure when addressing a meeting in Nkalane about 60 km south of Gwanda yesterday. He said that the two councillors, Comrade Gilbert Mlibe and Paulus Mazvureri, were abducted for no reason other than that they supported ZANU-PF. Comrade Nkala, who was accompanied by the party secretary for administration, Comrade Maurice Nyagumbo, added that several people were also abducted from the same district. [Text] [Harare Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 23 Mar 85]

CSO: 3400/869-F

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